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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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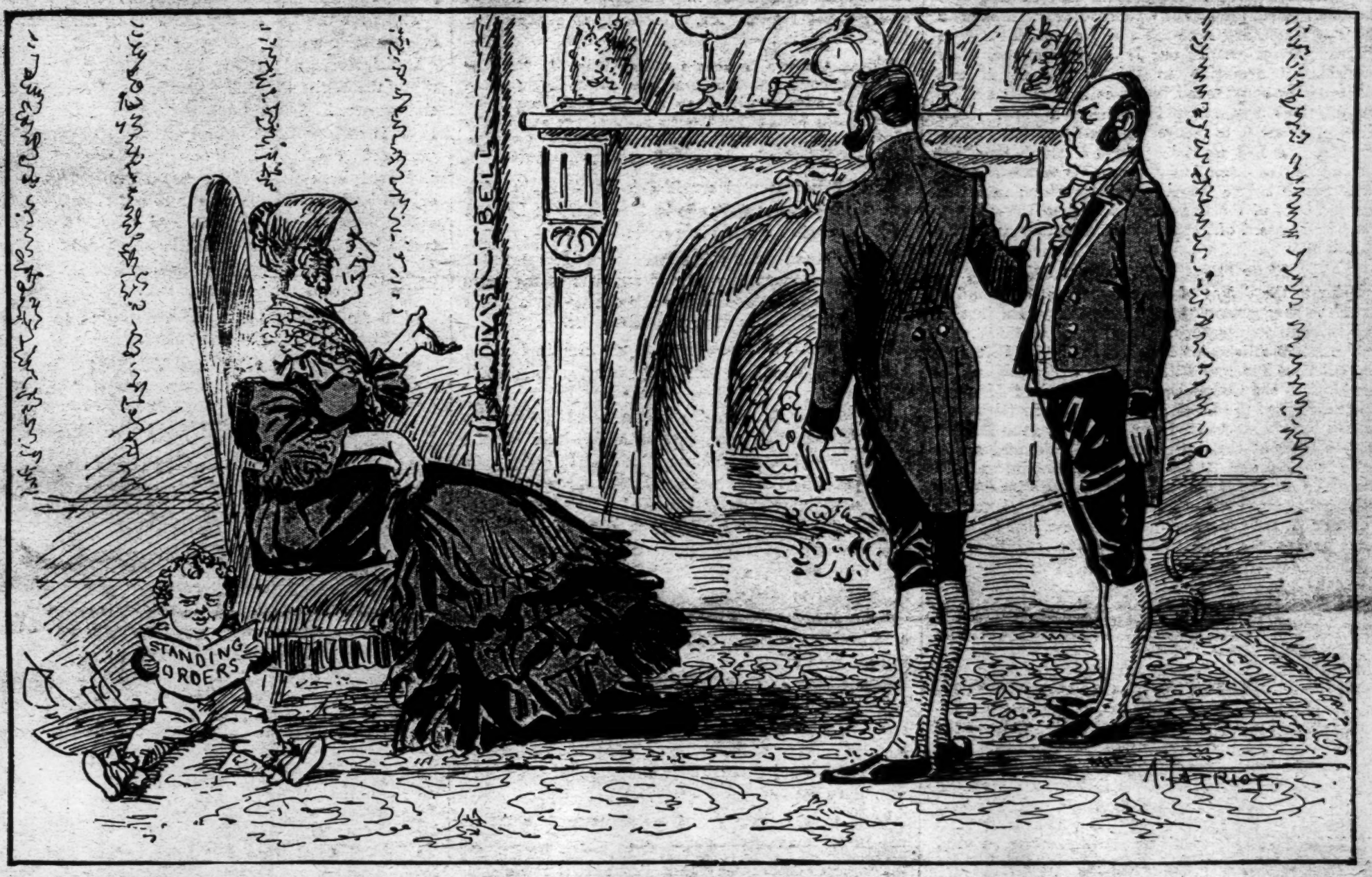
WHAT LANSBURY IS UP AGAINST



THE GOVERNMENT DEFEAT

MR. ASQUITH (to Liberal and Labour M.P.'s): "Why didn't you answer the (Division) bell on Monday?"
LIBERAL AND LABOUR M.P.'S: "Very sorry, ma'am. Me and James were out on a little business of our own."
MR. ASQUITH: "See that it doesn't happen again, or you'll lose your place and £400 a year."

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The great event of the week for Woman Suffragists is the Lansbury Election. All energies and all resources must therefore be devoted during the next few days to Bow and Bromley, so that when the figures are declared on Tuesday night it may be found not merely that George Lansbury has been re-elected, but that his majority is overwhelming.

What the Fight is About

Lansbury is fighting the seat on two main issues: firstly, on the right of the private member to vote according to his conscience and not according to the Party Whips; and secondly, on Woman Suffrage. At the present time these two issues are intimately bound up together in the House of Commons; for though two-thirds of the House are pledged up to the hilt to give women the vote, the Party wire-pullers have succeeded in rendering these pledges null and void. As George Lansbury was elected in December 1910 as a member of the Labour Party, and as that Party has declined to fight the Liberal Government on the Woman Suffrage question, Lansbury has determined to pursue an independent line; but before doing so he has felt it right to place himself unreservedly in the hands of his constituents. On Tuesday next, therefore, the electors of Bow and Bromley will have the opportunity of endorsing his policy, and of returning him once more to the House of Commons.

Liberal Wire-pullers

When Lansbury's decision to resign his seat was first made known, it was suggested in Liberal circles that, in addition to the Conservative opponent, a Liberal or Labour candidate of orthodox views who could be counted on to be a good Party man should be put forward. One or two names of Liberals, "warranted tame," were actually mentioned. Very speedily, however, these were withdrawn, for it was discovered that they would not poll more than a few hundred votes at most; such a result it was foreseen would be a crushing blow to officialism and Anti-Suffragism. The wire-pullers accordingly decided to put forward no candidate, but to ask publicly good Party Liberals to abstain from voting, and to suggest to them privately that they could best serve the Liberal Party machine by voting Conservative. At the same time, anticipating their own defeat, they put it about that as no Liberal or Labour candidate was standing except Lansbury, the election could not be regarded as a fight for Woman Suffrage or for independence from Party.

Liberal Principles or Liberal Party

The question which the Liberal electors and Labour electors of Bow and Bromley have got to ask themselves is whether they believe in principles or parties. If when they call themselves Liberals they simply mean that they accept blindly Mr. Asquith and the whole Liberal Party machine—even when these are acting contrary to liberty—then Lansbury may not be their man. If when they call themselves Labour men they propose to bow down implicitly to the Labour Caucus, regardless of what it does, they may prefer to abstain from voting. But if their Liberalism means that they set the fundamental principles of liberty and democracy above Party ties, and their Labourism means that they care deep down in their hearts for the classes who are tyrannised over and oppressed by our present civilisation, then Lansbury is the man who above all others will fight these battles for them, and it will be their honour and privilege to secure his return for the constituency.

A Good Omen

As to the suggestion put forward by Liberal wire-pullers and Anti-Suffragists that the issue of Woman Suffrage is not really before the electors in this contest, our friends need not take it very much to heart. Rather they should regard this statement as thoroughly good evidence that in the opinion of their

opponents the battle is already as good as lost. For if Anti-Suffragists thought that Lansbury was going to be defeated we may be quite sure that they would be at great pains to point out that Woman Suffrage was the essential issue of the contest. We who have heard Lansbury's speeches, in all of which Votes for Women has played a prominent part, and who have read the adverse pronouncement of the Conservative candidate, have no hesitation in stating that Woman Suffrage is being made a vital issue. And it is for this reason that we make a special appeal to every Woman Suffragist to do everything that lies in his or her power to secure the triumphant return of George Lansbury for Bow and Bromley. Facts for the electors will be found on page 116 of this issue, and some practical suggestions for help on the succeeding page.

The Scenes in the House

We deal elsewhere (in the leading article on page 120) with the story of the scenes which took place last week in the House of Commons, and show their intimate connection with the militant agitation for Woman Suffrage. We propose here to deal with the effect which the loss of time involved will have on the Parliamentary time-table and on the Franchise Bill in particular. In our issue last week we drew preliminary attention to this point, which was subsequently emphasised in the columns of the Daily Press. Two important facts have to be noticed. Firstly, in order to secure the benefit of the Parliament Act, a Bill must be passed through its third reading in the Commons and sent up to the Lords a clear month before the end of the Session; secondly, a great part of the financial business of the country must be disposed of in the Commons each year before March 31.

The Government Programme as it Was

Prior to the defeat of the Government on Monday week the programme, though very full, could just be got through in the time. The Home Rule Bill, the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, the Franchise Bill, and the Osborne Reversal Bill were all to have been disposed of in the Commons before the end of January and sent up to the Lords; February in the Commons was to have been devoted to minor Bills; the Session was to close at the beginning of March, and a few days later the new 1913 Session was to begin, and the necessary financial business disposed of before the end of the month. By the recent events seven Parliamentary days have been lost, and the whole Government programme has been thrown into confusion.

What Will the Government Do?

The plan which the Government intend to adopt to meet this difficulty has not yet been announced. Some members suggest that the Session shall continue right through March and on into April, and that not till then shall Parliament be prorogued. On the other hand, it has been tentatively suggested that the Welsh Disestablishment Bill should be thrown overboard; but this suggestion met with such determined opposition from the Welsh members, who threatened *to vote continuously against the Government on all questions*, that it has been officially repudiated. A similar proposal with regard to the Osborne Reversal Bill would, it is expected, produce a like threat from the Labour Party, who regard this matter as vital and not in the same light as they regard Woman Suffrage. There remains the Franchise Bill, which could either be thrown overboard altogether or reduced to a mere Plural Voting Bill or postponed till the last month of the Session, when it would cease to have the benefit of the Parliament Act. Any one of these courses on the Franchise Bill would involve a breach of a pledge to women, but whether this will have any deterrent effect upon Cabinet Ministers remains to be seen.

An Astonishing Decision

The first case in connection with the Llanystumdwy outrages upon Woman Suffragists was heard on Wednesday last, and in spite of strong evidence, given both by the police and the woman, the charge was dismissed. There seems to be very little doubt to anyone reading the summary of the case that this represents a gross miscarriage of justice. We defer further comment till next week, when we shall have had a fuller account of the case before us.

Equal Justice!

For throwing his arms round a Woman Suffragist and putting his hands over her mouth, Mr. Edwin Heath Smith, at Cupar, was on Tuesday fined 5s., with an alternative of five days' imprisonment, the Sheriff remarking that the assault was purely technical. For reminding Mr. Lloyd George of the necessity of Votes for Women, and for putting his hand on his shoulder and holding his coat to save himself from falling when attacked by Liberal stewards, Mr. Charles Gray was recently sentenced to two months' hard labour!

Coercion No Remedy

As we go to press we learn that sentences have been passed on the women who broke windows in Bond Street as a protest against the treatment of Mr. Snowden's Amendment, of four months and six months. The Government may think that this brutal severity will check disorder; they are mistaken; nothing will check disorder but the concession of justice.

THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

To Every Woman

A few years ago the great majority of women in this country did not know the meaning of the words, The White Slave Traffic. Every woman knows now. That knowledge is one of the results of the great Votes for Women campaign that has awakened women and taught them the evils of ignorance and political helplessness. They know that the White Slave Traffic means degradation for women and dishonour for womanhood.

But do they realise the full significance of the appalling facts? A question was put in the House of Commons a short while ago to the Home Secretary asking for information as to the number of women and girls who had been reported to the police in London as missing during the last twelve months and not yet found. Mr. McKenna, as reported in the *Times*, said:—

> During the twelve months ending May 31, fifty-four girls and young women were reported to the Metropolitan Police as missing who have not yet been found. Of these fifteen were under sixteen years of age and thirty-nine were between sixteen and twenty-one years of age. I have no information as regards other police forces.

Take this fact and consider it in the light of a speech made a few days ago by the Bishop of London at the Mansion House. He said:—

It was an awful thing that thousands of innocent girls should be trapped every year in all parts of the world and taken into hotbeds of vice and confined in a prison from which there was no escape during life.

He also said: "There were 25,000 men in London alone living on money earned by young girls in a life of shame."

The White Slave Traffic is the name given to a great commercial organisation which has become enormously rich, and has ramifications in every part of the world. For purpose of financial profit, young girls are systematically beguiled and tricked into houses of infamy or are lured to other countries by promises of good employment and high wages, and are then bought and sold by their captors and shipped off to all parts of the world, wherever "the demand" is greater than "the supply," with as much cold business calculation as cattle might be shipped to foreign markets. The fate of these young women is worse than death.

Remember that this hideous traffic in the bodies and souls of women—"thousands every year"—has been going on all the years of your life and mine! It has been going on under a system of laws that men have made—

Laws in the making and maintaining of which no woman has had any voice whatever.

People sometimes say that you cannot make men and women moral by Act of Parliament. But nobody has ever said and nobody could ever attempt to maintain that you cannot kill a trade by Act of Parliament. The traffic in negro slaves, to give but one illustration, was killed by legislation.

Any traffic or trade can be killed by being made financially unprofitable.

The White Slave Traffic could be killed, and would be killed very quickly indeed, if women had the vote.

It is because they know this that hundreds of Suffragettes have gone to prison. And it is for this reason, if there were no other, that every woman should come out and take her stand side by side with those who are fighting the great battle of Votes for Women to-day.

Politicians are talking about the White Slave Traffic to-day simply because the Suffragettes have brought this question to the front.

A Criminal Law Amendment Act has now been passed in the House of Commons, though similar Bills have been blocked more than a hundred times previously. It is a poor Bill, an absolutely inadequate Bill, and in some respects a bad Bill. It will not stop the White Slave Traffic. It does not attack the root of the evil. It hardly touches the great financial interests that are at stake. It is not sane legislation.

After years of absolute indifference and of criminal sloth, the House of Commons, which refuses to put the effective weapon of the ballot paper into the hands of the women of the country, thrusts the whip with emotional savagery into the hands of the gaolers, and decrees that a few scapegoats of the law shall be flogged.

Could anything be more futile, more disgraceful, or more idiotic?

Let members of Parliament give women the power, by means of the vote, to defend themselves and their children, and let them take their instruments of torture back into the Middle Ages where they belong.

Every woman! Come forward and demand the Vote, so that you may be able to guard your children from organised vice. Demand it as a human right. Demand it as a God-given trust.

If your demand for the Vote is refused, then rise up and do battle for it. Wrest your trustee-rights as women and mothers of the race from the hands that have not defended innocence and childhood and youth, but have allowed them to be bartered for gold.

Fight for the Vote! For the Vote in the hands of every woman means power over legislation.

Legislation, and nothing but legislation, can overthrow the White Slave Traffic as an organised financial concern. And though the White Slave Traffic itself is only a comparatively small part of a very great evil, and though for one girl who is entrapped and sold by traders there are hundreds who are driven by hunger and poverty to sell themselves for a livelihood, yet to put an end to the organised traffic in white women slaves is worth fighting for. And one part of the problem having been dealt with, it would be easier to attack the rest.

Fight for the Vote! For the Vote means the recognition of the humanity of womanhood.

Fight for the Vote! For the Vote in the hands of mothers of the race means the sacredness of childhood.

Fight for the Vote! For the Vote means the power to guard the temple of the human body from those who would profane it.

Every woman! For honour's sake and for compassion's sake rise up and bear a valiant part in the battle for liberty that will not end with the attainment of Votes for Women!

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

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FACTS FOR THE ELECTORS

WHY WOMEN WANT THE VOTE

Because women want to have a say in making the laws they are expected to obey.

Because there are many bad laws which women want to have altered. The present laws allow bad houses to be built, bad milk to be sold, and many other things to be done which women would change if they got the vote.

Because many laws are very unfair to women. One of the worst of these—the Insurance Act—was passed last year.

Because women have to pay taxes, like men, and they want to have a share in deciding what these taxes shall be.

Because the Government pays women in its employ such miserably low wages. This is bad not only for women, but for men also, because as a result women undercut men in the labour market.

Because the Government permits its sub-contractors to sweat their women employees. If women had the vote this would be stopped, as it has already been stopped in the case of men.

Because when a woman is married to a bad husband she is not protected by the law. He can ill-treat her, he can refuse to give her money to keep the home or feed the children and herself, and she has no legal remedy. In countries where women have the vote all this has been changed.

Because women want to have good laws made to protect the lives of little children. At present, out of every hundred babies born eleven die in the first year of their life. Many of these could be saved if the laws were better. In South Australia, before women got the vote, fourteen out of every hundred babies died. When women got the vote they insisted upon getting good laws made. The number of deaths of babies now in South Australia is seven per hundred, or only half of what it was before.

Because women will always occupy a subordinate position until their equality is recognised by equal rights of voting.

Because all the wisest men and women realise that decisions based upon the point of view of men and women together are more valuable than those based upon either singly.

Because, so long as the majority of the women of the country have no interest in politics, the children grow up ignorant of the meaning of the struggle for freedom, and lessons learnt in one generation by bitter experience have to be relearnt by the next in the same school.

Because women, like men, need to have some interests outside the home, and will be better comrades to their husbands, better mothers to their children, and better housekeepers of the home when they get them.

WHAT THEY HAVE DONE TO GET IT

As far back as 1816 women took part with men in agitating for the vote. And in the great demonstration in Peterloo in 1821 women suffered with men when the soldiers charged the crowd. Nevertheless, the Reform Act of 1832, which so materially improved the position of the men, did nothing for the women who had fought side by side with them. From that date till this women have agitated in various constitutional ways to obtain the vote Some of these have been :—

By Petitions

Numberless petitions and memorials have been signed and have been presented to the House of Commons and to the Government. Between 1866 and 1879 there were

Over 9,000 Petitions with Three Million Signatures

in support of giving votes to women. In 1896 alone an appeal to members of Parliament was signed by

Over a Quarter of a Million Women

And since that date petitions and memorials have been pouring in from all parts of the country.

By Applying to be Registered as Voters

In 1867 the wording of the Household Franchise Act was supposed by many people to allow of the enrolment of women as voters. A canvass of the women in Manchester was made, and out of 4,215 women who might be qualified 3,924, or

92 per cent., Sent in Claims

The Court of Appeal, however, decided against the women (Chorlton v. Lings), and compelled them to make their demand again to Parliament.

One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Meetings

Countless public meetings have been held all over the country, which have carried resolutions in favour of VOTES FOR WOMEN. The Women's Social and Political Union alone have held over 100,000 meetings, indoor and out, during the last seven years. Of these, the great Hyde Park demonstration on Sunday, June 21, 1908, when half a million people came together, was admittedly

The Largest Political Demonstration in the History of the World

Other great outdoor demonstrations have been held in all the largest towns. The other Woman Suffrage Societies have held at least 50,000 more, so that at least 150,000 meetings have been held altogether, including twenty in the great Albert Hall, London; and others in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, the Sun Hall, Liverpool, the Colston Hall, Bristol, the Town Hall, Birmingham, the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, and in many other places.

Over £200,000 for the Campaign

Women at great sacrifise have contributed many thousand pounds to a campaign fund. A large part of this is contributed by thousands of working women, who feel keenly their need for the vote.

By Newspapers and Literature

The Woman's Movement now supports four flourishing weekly newspapers, which advocate the reform, and the various Woman Suffrage Societies have also issued millions of pamphlets, leaflets, and other literary propaganda.

By Political and Municipal Work

Women have worked hard for Liberal, Conservative, and Labour candidates, and party agents have found them exceedingly useful. They have served on County Councils, boards of guardians, school boards, parish councils, vestries, &c., and have there initiated and executed many important reforms.

By Pledging Parliamentary Candidates

Women have extracted from candidates for the House of Commons, as a condition of working for them, promises of support to Woman Suffrage in Parliament. In the present House about 450 members are so pledged, but the Government has prevented Woman Suffrage from becoming law.

How the Militant Methods Began

Militant methods began in 1905. Sir Edward Grey was addressing a great meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester. Two women, Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney, determined to find out what was going to be the policy of the Liberal Government towards Woman Suffrage if they were returned at the general election. Accordingly, after Sir Edward Grey's speech was over, *at question time* they put a question to him on this point, but, though other questions from the audience were answered, this question was ignored, and as they insisted upon receiving an answer they were taken by the stewards and thrown out of the meeting, and because they held a protest meeting outside the hall, were arrested and thrown into prison.

During the seven years that the Liberal Government has been in power Cabinet Ministers have persistently dealt in this way with women at their meetings. Sometimes the questions came at the end of the meeting; at other times, as is the custom with men hecklers, they took the form of interruptions during the speeches of the Cabinet Ministers. In almost every case the *women were thrown out with violence*, and in some instances permanent injury was inflicted, the stewards behaving with the utmost brutality without being checked by the Cabinet Minister.

A Thousand Women Imprisoned

Women used to go on deputation to try to see the Prime Minister. But instead of seeing them he sent out the police and had them arrested and sent to prison. In November, 1910, the women who went on deputation were particularly brutally handled. Some were deliberately beaten and thrown down; others were assaulted in indescribable ways. As a result one woman died and others have not yet recovered. So when further protests were required, in November, 1911, and March, 1912, women said, "We will not face that again; rather than have our bodies battered about, we will break a few panes of glass." And they did so. In consequence several hundred women were sent to prison for several months, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst were also imprisoned for conspiracy. Over a thousand women have been to prison altogether in connection with this agitation.

GOVERNMENT VIOLENCE TO SUFFRAGETTES

Not content with imprisoning Suffragettes for persisting in their demand for the vote the Government have refused to treat them in prison as political offenders. In so doing they have been false to Liberal principles. In 1889 the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, referring to the Irish political prisoners, said :—

I know very well that you cannot attempt a legislative definition of political offences, but what you can do, and what always has been done, is this: you can say that in certain classes of cases the imprisoned person ought not to be treated as if he had been guilty of base and degrading crime.

In June, 1909, Miss Wallace Dunlop, one of the Woman Suffrage prisoners, adopted the hunger strike as a protest against being treated as an ordinary criminal. The Home Secretary, instead of acceding to her demand, ordered her release, after ninety-one hours' starvation. Many other Woman Suffrage prisoners followed her example.

Forcible Feeding.

Then in September, 1909, the Home Secretary determined to employ against them the inhuman practice of forcible feeding by means of a *tube passed through the nostrils into the stomach*.. Mrs. Leigh, one of many who have been thus assaulted, says of it: "The sensation is most painful. *The drums of the ears seem to be bursting;* there is a horrible pain in the throat and breast."

Sir Victor Horsley says that, apart from the brutality of the proceeding, it has the following consequences :—

Pain, congestion of the nose and pharynx, leading, in my own hospital experience, to ulceration of the nasal mucous membrane, retching, vomiting, and depression.

In addition, over one hundred other medical practitioners have petitioned the Government to abandon this disgraceful procedure. In spite of this terrible medical indictment, however, the Government have still continued to adopt it rather than treat their women political opponents as political offenders are treated in every civilised country in the world.

VOTE FOR GEORGE LANSBURY!

Mr. George Lansbury has resigned his seat in order to give to the electors of Bow and Bromley the chance to show their confidence in him.

If he is re-elected he will feel free to vote in the House of Commons against the present Government, because they refuse to put their Liberal principles into practice. In the first place, they carried the Insurance Act last year, which has been like a millstone round the neck of the working people, particularly the unskilled labourers and the working women.

In the second place, they are preventing women from getting the vote. Not only so, they are also behaving dishonestly in the matter, for last year Mr. Asquith promised to give an impartial field for the Women's Bill; and then in November he announced a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and thus, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, "torpedoed" the Bill to which women had trusted.

Mr. George Lansbury says that a Government like this is not to be trusted, and he calls upon all Liberal and Labour men to support him in his opposition to it.

The Liberal wirepullers dare not bring an official Liberal into the field, because they know that he would be badly beaten, but they are asking Liberals and Labour men not to vote for George Lansbury, but to abstain; if this advice were to be followed the Conservative would be elected. This shows that the Liberal wirepullers care more for party than for principle, and they would rather have in the House of Commons a Conservative than a man like Lansbury. The reason is that Lansbury will shame them because he really stands for Liberal principles, while they only stand for the Liberal Party.

We call upon all true men in Bow and Bromley who care for liberty and justice, and who believe that women have the rights of human beings, to vote for George Lansbury.

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LANSBURY FOR BOW AND BROMLEY

By our Special Correspondent

(*"Votes for Women" Fellowship Office, 162, Bow Road, E.*)

Mr. Lansbury writes:—

"We have every confidence that we are going to win with a big thumping majority. But apart from the issue of the election, the fight is proving of real educational value, of educational value because it has shown the poor people here what sort of persons the 'Suffragettes' really are. The manner in which they are listened to, and the talk that takes place after the meetings, prove to me quite conclusively that if only we could carry on such a campaign in every industrial centre, the working class would be won to our side. It is only prejudice which has caused any sort of disagreement at all, and this fact ought to encourage every woman and every girl who lives in an industrial centre to get to work amongst the working people as soon as possible.

"But this election is unique for other reasons. To say that we have the children on our side is only to say part of the truth. We have them enthusiastically on our side, and I should think that this is the only election where children have been talked to by the candidate and by his friends for the purpose of trying to make them understand what it is all about, and the result is seen and heard in the streets, where most of these children are to be found chanting their song, and, when asked who Mr. Lansbury is, talk of him as the man who is standing up for the women. Another very striking feature is the fact that although Bow and Bromley has been unique during election times for the interest taken by women, this election will beat all records in that respect. Every one of the Suffrage Societies is holding meetings for women, and all of them are drawing the women, not merely to their own meetings, but to all the others, and this too is a really splendid piece of work.

"But the end of it all must be between now and Tuesday. Every person who has a minute of spare time, every person who can in any kind of way lend help in canvassing, or speaking, is required in the division. . . . We want motor cars, carriages, in fact, anything on two wheels that will move, to help take our people up, and I am quite certain that the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN will see that all these things are supplied. May I say how very grateful my wife and myself are to the hundreds of women and men who have poured into the division? It does not feel like being a lonely fight now, it feels like being amongst a crowd of enthusiastic men and women who are moved by the impelling force of a great ideal to give themselves to a great movement, and we both feel proud to be taking our part in it, and being one of that great body of women and men who are going to carry the flag of women's emancipation to a triumphant victory."

G. L.

The Suffragist Election! That is the name by which it will go down to political posterity. And no one visiting Bow and Bromley this week could find a better name for the contest now raging there, unless it be, as one Liberal paper has suggested, "The Lansbury Election." Lansbury and Votes for Women!—that is the motto of the very modern St. George of Bow who is out fighting for women's freedom in one of the poorest districts of the richest country in the world.

It is in vain for the enemy to pretend that an election cannot be fought on a single issue. Go down to Bow and see! At every open-air meeting—and there is one at every busy street corner—the speaker sooner or later, generally sooner, gets round to Votes for Women. This is not surprising, of course, when the lorry flies the colours of one of the many Suffrage societies that are supporting George Lansbury's candidature; but the same subject prevails on every other lorry as well. You stop at a van marked "Socialism," and you hear the speaker representing to an interested crowd that no State control can be perfect that excludes the women's point of view; you wander on to the Tariff Reformer's lorry—which reminds you that there *is* another candidate, after all!—and you gather at once from the restlessness of the crowd that if his subject is not Votes for Women it will very soon have to be.

"The economic position of the worker will never be improved until——" "Working women get votes!" shouts a man in the crowd. "Let me give you a few facts," the orator struggles on, "about——" "Votes for Women!" shouts another voice, and so it goes on, the Tariff Reformer uneasily wearing the crown of the Cabinet Minister for the occasion, and his audience stoutly refusing to listen to industrial arithmetic while women are left out of the calculation. And then, down the middle of the street comes a tattered regiment of youngsters, singing the latest election song to the tune of "Let's all go down the Strand":—

"He's the man with pluck and grit,
Help him make another hit;
Let's vote for Lansbury!"

The "Anti" Shop

Surely at no election has the number of committee rooms ever been so great. Besides those of the rival candidates, every Suffrage society taking part in the contest—some six or seven in all—has its own headquarters, and there is the shop of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship as well. Outside each of them, all day long, surges an interested little crowd of spectators, commenting on the posters and pamphlets in the window, cheering every group of workers who go in and out, and now and then becoming so obstructive in its attentions that a friendly constable has to clear the pavement to enable a real customer to go in and buy a badge. But nowhere does one hear so much honest advocacy of the cause as among those who stop to gaze in at the window of the Anti-Suffrage shop in Bow Road—at the brave declaration, "No Petticoat Government," at the picture of the slattern with undarned stockings in "The Suffragette's Home," at the irrelevant statement, "Women don't want votes: they want more wages, for which they should combine!"—which suggests a phrase for a new Ollendorff—"Has the woman got the key of the employer's money-box? No, but she has a photograph of his back door." One is not surprised to hear one woman say to another, as they stand agaze before the lying picture in the middle of the window: "Suffragette's Home? Not much! Mrs. Lansbury's a Suffragette—her home's not like that."

"Look at her stockings!" says the other with a great laugh—they know how to laugh, these working women who are always so near starvation. "Here in Bow the trouble is to git your stockings afore you can mend 'em!"

The Meetings

As for meetings, they are going on everywhere. A better idea of the kind of spirit that has been put into women, and into the right sort of men, too, for that matter, by the militant movement of the last seven years, could not be obtained than by going from one to another of the packed indoor meetings that are being held afternoon and evening all over the constituency. The Parliamentarian who goes down to support Mr. Lansbury finds that the usual electioneering speech won't do for this Suffragist Election. "Talk about Woman Suffrage!" the audience exhorts him, and in the end he has to deal with the one live subject of the day or sit down. At the women's meetings, the feeling is so intense that the speaker's task is sometimes not an easy one, for she has to get a hearing through the expressions of eager acquiescence that threaten to drown what she has to say. At a packed women's meeting in the Bow Baths this was very marked. At every point made by the speakers there came a chorus of "Aye, aye!" "That's true, that is!" When militancy was mentioned, with the words, "You've probably thought these women were unwomanly ——" there was an outburst of eager denials: "We don't! We don't!" At the merest suggestion that "man's place is the home," came a clamour of delighted applause, while the economic question roused derisive laughter. "A man who gets 30s. a week, and brings home 27s. 6d. to his wife," began the speaker, only to be interrupted by a yell of hilarity at the mere suggestion of such liberality. But the point that always went home and roused a deep murmur from hundreds of throats, that was far more impressive than any applause, was the one dealing with the mother's guardianship of her own children, legitimate and illegitimate. They live face to face with realities, these women of Bow and Bromley, and that is why they need no conversion to Woman Suffrage.

The Candidate's Wife

It was at the Saturday afternoon meeting in the Bow Baths that Mrs. George Lansbury stood up and made her maiden speech. It was very short, but it was to the point, like her message to the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN, which we print on this page; and to the rows and rows of listening women sitting below her she stood for the great battle to make the Government see their point of view and improve their conditions, in which she stands shoulder to shoulder with her husband. So they applauded to the echo her first appearance in public, and then cheered her husband as heartily, as he came on to the platform at the end of the meeting and told them quite simply why he was again seeking election at the hands of their husbands and their sons and their brothers.

For George Lansbury is determined to make his position clear to the electors. One gathers this from every election speech he makes, and one has heard him in this election making them by the dozen to men, women, and children. It is characteristic of the sincerity of the man that he will not have even the children singing for him in the streets unless they know why they do it.

A Children's Meeting

We strolled into a little mission hall, packed to overflowing with boys and girls, who had just come out of school. On the platform stood a militant Suffragist, beating time, while the jolly, riotous assembly roared out election songs at her bidding. Then, at the door, appeared George Lansbury, and in the flash of a second every child was on its feet, stamping and cheering with all its might. But it wasn't for that he had come.

"Now, look here," he began conversationally, as he sat sideways on the table and just talked to them. "I don't want you to sing for me unless you know why you're doing it." Then he went on to tell them the reason why. They went to school, didn't they? What did they learn at school? (A Voice: "How to work and mind your manners!") "I see that boy means to be a Labour candidate some day." (Delighted laughter.) Well, they learnt a commandment at school about honouring their fathers and their *mothers*, didn't they? Not their fathers without their mothers, eh? Now, their mothers did a good chunk of the work at home, and sometimes got a bit tired, didn't she? Were there any boys there who sometimes helped their mothers? (Virtuous show of hands.) Of course, there were! Same thing with their sisters. "You've got to think your sister is a very valuable person at home." (Great though mute satisfaction evident among the girls.) "You mustn't let her do all the work for you; I should like to see boys clean their sisters' boots for them." (Slight decline of political enthusiasm among the boys.) They were to remember that when their sister got to be twenty-one she was to have a vote as well as them; she was just as good as they were, and when she got her vote she would set to work to make conditions of life better for all of them, boys as well as girls. (Spirits of the boys in the audience rising rapidly.) If they sang their songs to help him, they must do it because he wanted to help their mothers and their sisters. And when the fight was over, they'd have a good shout if he won, and if he didn't win—it was like a football match, and you didn't always win at footer, did you? ("I've won twice today"—from future Labour member)—if they didn't win, they'd start the fight over again. "But, remember this—if they tell you the cause is beaten, don't believe them. Never believe them if they tell you a good cause can be beaten, because it can't. And now we'll have three cheers for your mothers!" And they did, while the candidate dashed off to a grown-up meeting.

Canvassing the Electors

Standing in a corner of Mr. Lansbury's Central Committee Rooms at 150, Bow Road, E., we spent an interested five minutes watching the canvassers come in, one after another, for their instructions. Now it was a militant Suffragist, wearing her prison badge of liberty; now a "constitutional," with the red, white, and green ribbon (strange anomaly!) of Garibaldi; now a man home from work, eager to spend his evening in helping the man who champions all workers; now a parson who knew, or should know, better than most of us what that championship means in a place like Bow and Bromley. Upstairs, the candidate's agent, Mr. Banks, gave us a few moments in the middle of a rush of work, to explain how things were going.

No Backdoor Influence

Every elector is to be canvassed—there are 10,000 of them—and what is more, every elector is to be seen personally. In this Suffragist election, no man's vote is going to be secured through the back door; and, whether his wife is at home or not, he has got to be called upon again by the canvasser if he happens to be out the first time. That is why helpers are wanted for this canvassing work at all hours of the day. Bow and Bromley electors are largely "shift workers," that is, they work in shifts, which makes their hours at home variable; so they may be found there morning, afternoon, or evening. Every Suffrage Society now in the constituency is co-operating with Mr. Banks in this canvass, in which he personally believes more than in any other form of electioneering activity.

A MESSAGE FROM MRS. LANSBURY

I have been asked to write a few words in "VOTES FOR WOMEN" concerning my husband's candidature. I do so with very great pleasure, because I feel very keenly how necessary it is for men and women to work side by side, in all things concerning men and women and little children.

I fully endorse all my husband has tried to do in the past twenty-five years, in fact, ever since he was sixteen, and especially his attitude with regard to women having the vote.

I have felt for many years the very great need for women on all our public bodies, and therefore feel very glad indeed to support him in our great movement for VOTES FOR WOMEN.

May I go so far as to say how unceasingly he has worked in season and out, continually striving to help and uplift our poorer brothers and sisters to a higher plane. I feel, too, with the help and support of women in all that pertains to the uplifting of our people, we should accomplish much more of the necessary things of life that go to make home life so much happier, here and now.

I have taken a little quotation from Emerson, in which he says:—

"If everyone recalled his experiences, he might find the best in the speech of superior woman—which was better than song, and carried ingenuity, character, wise counsel, and affection as easily as the wit with which it was adorned. They are not only wise themselves, they make us wise. No one can be a master of conversation who has not learned much from women; their presence and inspiration are essential to its success."

With all good wishes,

Yours always,

E. J. LANSBURY.

Wanted—Motor Cars!

Mr. Banks is also organising the loan of motor-cars for election day—Tuesday, November 26. Any number of these can be used in bringing electors to the poll, for the constituency is a large one, and not an easy one to get about in. Will everyone prepared to lend a car let Mr. Banks know this *as soon as possible*, in order that he may get ahead with the election day plan of campaign?

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship

In a charmingly clean room at the back of the shop now occupied by the Men's Political Union (162, Bow Road), Mrs. McLeod may be found presiding over piles of VOTES FOR WOMEN, ready to deal them out to members of the Fellowship who go there to act as paper sellers. Numbers have already been working in that capacity all the week, and more are needed, for there is a great demand for the paper, especially at the innumerable open-air meetings. Sellers will be wanted particularly for the Procession next Monday evening. The VOTES FOR WOMEN Shop is just opposite Bow Church, a few minutes' walk from Bow Road Station.

Oratorical Support

The following Suffrage Societies are among those at work in the constituency supporting Mr. Lansbury's candidature:—The Women's Social and Political Union (198, Bow Road, E., and 152, Roman Road, E.), the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (Stanley House, Bow Road), the Women's Freedom League (218, Bow Road), the Men's Political Union (162, Bow Road), the Men's League (8, Alfred Street, Bow Road), the New Constitutional Society (167, Roman Road, E.). It is not surprising that the list of meetings being held daily, indoor and outdoor, is far too large to be given here! We give below, however, some of the more important ones, at which Mr. Lansbury is to speak in the course of the next few days. Besides all the prominent Suffragists, men and women, the following are some of the well-known speakers who are giving Mr. Lansbury their help on the platform:—Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., the Rev. Silvester Horne, M.P., Mr. L. A. Atherley Jones, M.P., Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., Mr. H. D. Harben, Sir Victor Horsley, Mr. G. K. Chesterton, Mr. Hilaire Belloc. One glance at a list like this will show the most casual observer what a wide range of practical sympathy can be commanded by sincerity and loyalty to principle.

Mr. Lansbury's Meetings

Mr. George Lansbury will speak at all the following meetings, all of which are at 8 p.m. unless otherwise stated:—

Thurs., Nov. 21.—McKenzie Hall, Emston Street, Bromley. The Rev. Silvester Horne, M.P., Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and others.

Fri., Nov. 22.—Knapp Road Schools. Chair: Councillor Sumnor, Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., Mrs. Cobden Sanderson.

Christchurch Hall. Mr. Burnett, Mr. Wedgwood, M.P., Miss I. O. Ford, Mr. J. M. Mitchell.

Old Palace Schools. Mr. Cecil Chesterton, Mrs. Mansell Moullin, Dr. G. B. Clark.

The Tabernacle, Brunswick Road, Bromley. Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., Miss I. O. Ford, Rev. Silvester Horne, M.P.

Sat., Nov. 23.—McKenzie Hall, Emston Street, Bromley.

St. Gabrielle's Hall, Bromley.

Sun., Nov. 24.—Bow Baths (under the auspices of the I.L.P.).

Bow Palace, Bow Road (3 p.m.).

Mon., Nov. 25.—St. Gabrielle's Hall, Bromley.

A Suffrage Procession

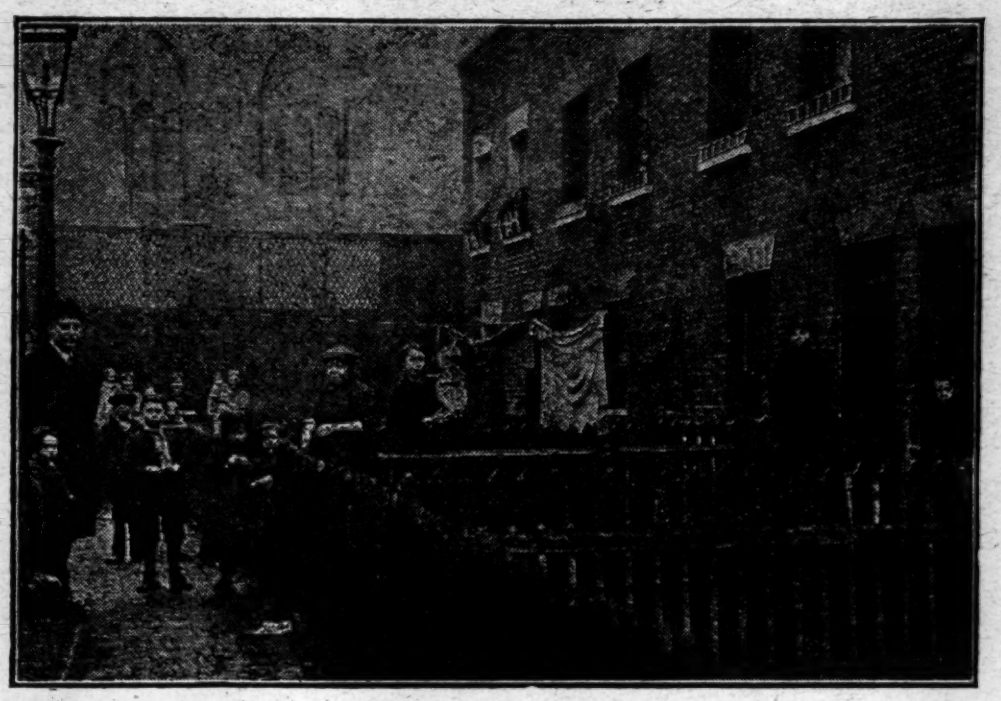
A Suffrage Procession, in which all the Suffrage Societies will join, the members of each walking under their own banner and carrying lanterns and torches, will march through the constituency on Monday evening. It will form up at Bow Church, close to Bow Road Station, at 7 p.m., and start at 7.30 p.m. After the procession the speakers will separate and go to their various meetings. Here is an opportunity for the West to join hands with the East, and all Suffragists should go down to Bow on Monday evening and take a little colour and brightness into a grey district by helping to swell the ranks of this torch-light procession.

Manifesto of Liberal M.P.'s

A manifesto has been issued from Liberal M.P.'s to the electors of Bow and Bromley, asking them to vote for Mr. Lansbury: "That this meeting heartily endorses the action taken by Mr. George Lansbury in expressing his conviction of the supreme importance of Votes for Women, and tenders its best wishes for his return to Parliament."

A Third Candidate

It is stated that a third candidate has now come forward, in the person of Mr. A. M. de Beck, as an Imperial-Labour and Anti-Suffrage candidate. The Liberal executive has declined to adopt him, says the *Times*, but he announces his intention of standing independently.



Barratt

Mr, Lansbury and some of the Women who will have a Vote next time

Lansbury, although they differ from him "on many political questions and methods." Two of the reasons given for their appeal are:—

1. He is standing for Parliament as an Independent, and we believe that it is of the utmost importance to Parliamentary government that people should be able to sit in Parliament unattached to and unnominated by any of the great parties.

2. From personal experience we know him to be sincere in his views and un-self-seeking in his actions, and therefore desirable as a member of Parliament.

The signatures include such names as those of Mr. Thomas Burt, Mr. Arnold Rowntree, Mr. Silvester Horne, Mr. Allen Baker, Mr. Outhwaite, Mr. Neilson, Mr. Athelstan Rendall, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Chancellor, and Mr. Hugh Watt.

The Labour Party

On the authority of the Lobby Correspondent of the *Daily News*, it is alleged that at the meeting held by the Labour Party last week to discuss their attitude towards the election, there was a considerable divergence in their ranks, as some members had already promised to assist Mr. Lansbury and others had expressed disapproval of his action. No official statement was made.

According to the *Times*, the Labour Party in Parliament met on Monday, and on learning that Mr. Lansbury had not, through his organization, the Independent Labour Party, applied for the usual endorsement of his candidature by the national executive, decided to take up a neutral attitude.

The following resolution, passed at a meeting held by the Stourbridge I.L.P. on November 17, has been forwarded to Mr.

Mrs. Lansbury's Letter to the Electors

Dear Friends,—Will you allow me to send you this personal note? My husband and I are one in this great fight for women. We both of us believe that men and women united as friends and comrades can, and will, save our country from the horrors of destitution, prostitution, and misery.

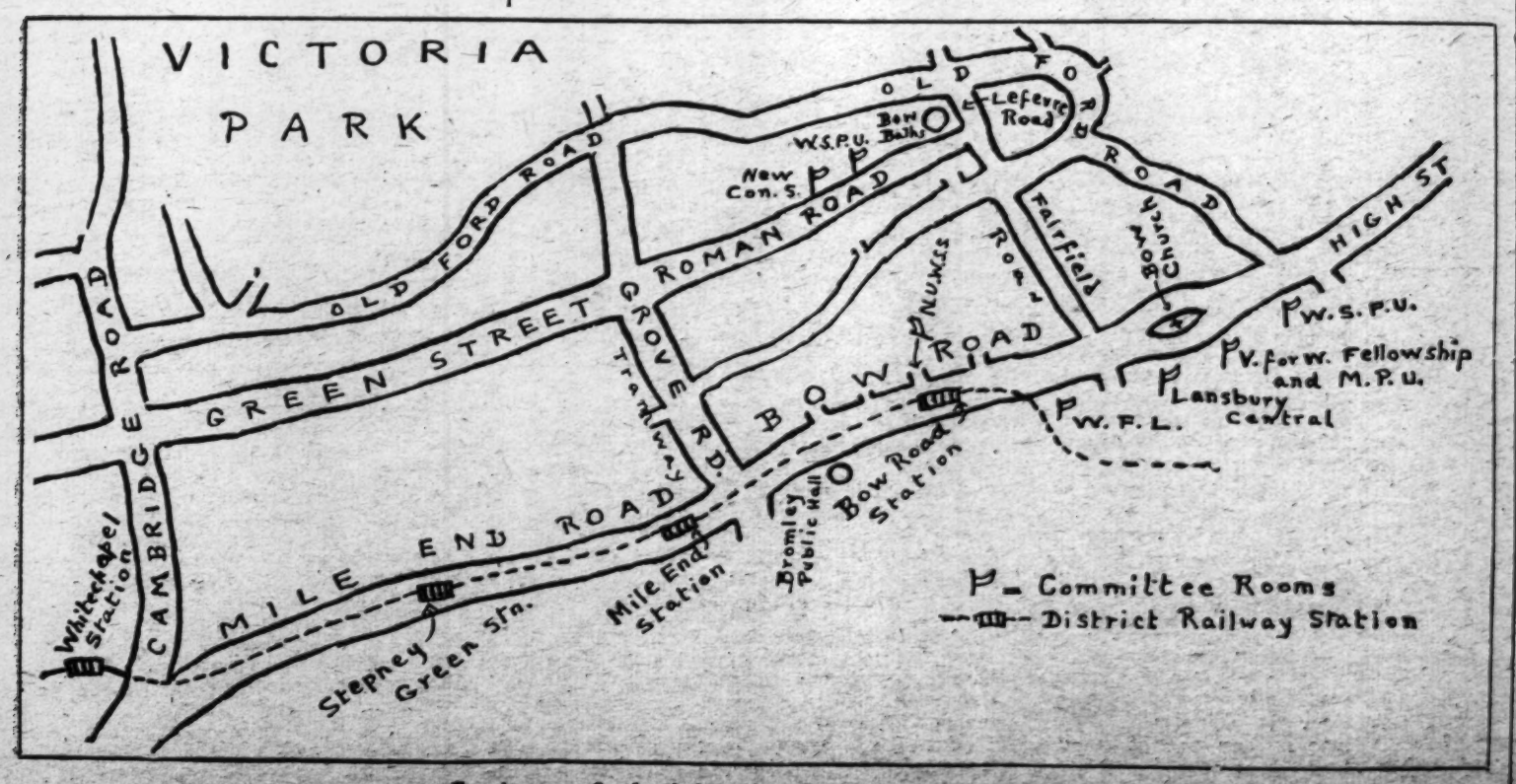
You know the years he has toiled for you, and I feel I have done my part in supporting him by every means in my power; but now at this time, when he is standing almost alone, I want you to know and realise that he is fighting this fight all over again for you, and I want that you should stand behind him in his tremendous task of breaking down evil and establishing good.

So will you just come out and help? We shall win, and you will help us, and by so doing make Bow and Bromley once more take first place in the struggle of the poor, upward to a fuller life.—With every good wish, yours always,

ELIZABETH J. LANSBURY.

Some Useful Facts for Helpers

For Mr. Lansbury's main Committee Rooms, at 150, Bow Road, and for all Suffragist Committee Rooms in Bow Road, including the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship Shop (at No. 162), book to Bow Road Station (Bow Road or East Ham trains, District Railway). For Roman Road, the other main thoroughfare, book to Mile End on the same line; also for the Victoria Park end of the constituency. The nearest station for Bromley Public Hall is Bow Road, and for Bow Baths is Mile End. The Old Ford and other motor omnibuses also go to the constituency. *(See Map below.)*



Centres of Activity in Bow and Bromley

FUND FOR ELECTION EXPENSES

We are delighted to be able to announce to our readers that a splendid response has already been forthcoming to our appeal in these columns for the election expenses of George Lansbury.

From the list which we publish below, made out up to Tuesday, it will be seen that the fund already amounted at that date to over £180, and since then several further sums have reached us which will be duly acknowledged next week. We feel sure that many of our readers who have not yet sent in a contribution will wish to do so at once in order that shortage of resources may not handicap Mr. Lansbury in his fight.

We would remind them that in this contest Mr. Lansbury is not supported by any of the Labour organisations, and that therefore the whole of the election expenses not found by friends will fall upon him personally. We know that our readers will not wish him to suffer pecuniary loss in this matter, and it is for this reason that we have started this fund, which will be handed over to him by us entire, without any deductions whatever.

Subscription List to Tuesday, Nov. 19

	£	s.	d.
Lady Knyvett	2	2	0
Mrs. D. A. Thomas	10	10	0
Reginald Pott, Esq.	10	0	0
Miss Evelyn Sharp	1	1	0
Mrs. Montgomery Smith	2	2	0
Mrs. Bennett	0	2	6
Mrs. Hicks	2	2	0
Miss Lettice Floyd	2	0	0
Miss Katherine Miles	1	0	0
Mrs. Harry McCalmont	10	0	0
Dr. Caroline Sturge	5	5	0
Sir Edward and Lady Busk	5	0	0
Miss Eveline Wright	2	0	0
Miss Minnie Evans	1	1	0
Miss H. M. Brailey	0	10	0
A Cowardly Sympathiser	0	5	0
Mrs. A. E. Hall	1	1	0
Miss Florence Edmonds	1	1	0
Mrs. Saul Solomon	2	2	0
Miss Beatrice Whitton	0	10	0
Mrs. Baker	0	10	0
Mrs. Ramsbottom	1	0	0
Mrs. Mapplebeck	0	10	0
Mrs. Barnes	0	10	0
William H. Jewson, Esq.	1	1	0
Miss Mary Floyd	5	0	0
Mrs. Granville	0	5	0
Mrs. Walter Carey	0	5	0
Mrs. L. Sparrow	1	0	0
Miss A. L. Leslie	1	1	0
Mrs. A. Winterne	0	2	6
Mrs. C. Whipp	1	0	0
Mrs. M. S. Sanderson	1	0	0
Chas. Veale, Esq.	0	5	0
Mrs. C. Green	1	1	0
Mrs. Balfour	2	2	0
Miss Ada Wright	2	2	0
Mrs. James Ivory	5	0	0
Miss Mordan	5	5	0
Miss Grey Allen	1	0	0
An Admirer	0	2	0
Mrs. Mort	3	3	0
From Brighton	1	0	0
Miss H. Pole	0	10	0
Anon.	5	0	0
"A. F."	1	10	0
F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Esq.	10	10	0
Miss Florence Wright	2	0	0
Mrs. Ferguson	2	0	0
Mrs. Taylor	5	0	0
A few sympathising working women in Dorking	0	2	6
Miss D. Le Lacheur	2	0	0
Miss Beatrice Sotheran	5	0	0
Miss Sotheran	5	0	0
Lady Carbutt	5	5	0
Miss H. E. Sheppard	2	0	0
Miss C. Eldridge	0	4	0
Mrs. Webb	3	3	0
Miss M. A. Warter	1	0	0
Mrs. Gibbs	1	0	0
Miss S. E. Outram	1	0	0
Miss E. M. Prier	0	2	6
Miss J. Fryer	1	0	0
Mrs. J. V. Dale	0	2	6
Miss J. Bow	0	5	0
Miss J. G. Thomson	0	2	6
Miss C. E. M. Strangways	0	5	0
Mrs. Brewster	5	0	0
"Largs"	0	10	0
Mrs. Orchard	5	0	0
Miss S. A. Turle	5	0	0
Mrs. M. K. Richardson	0	16	0
H. F. Brown, Esq.	1	0	0
Mrs. Douglas-Hamilton	5	5	0
Mrs. Cobb	1	1	0
The Misses Priestman	5	0	0
"W. D."	2	0	0
"Echo from Glasgow"	1	0	0
Miss G. Vaughan	0	10	6
Edward H. Prout, Esq.	0	2	6
Miss Alice Salomonson	0	5	0
Miss L. Grahame	0	10	0
Mr. and Mrs. H. Blair	1	1	0
Total	£182	2	0

WILLIAM OWEN

XMAS BAZAAR NOW OPEN

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CATALOGUES POST FREE

M. 205.—A smart small silk hat with full crown, artistically draped and gauged, brim underlined with velvet. Suitable for afternoon wear. Can be procured in all shades.

Price **14/11**

All Goods throughout the establishment over 2/6 in value are delivered Free in the United Kingdom.

M 204.—A becoming adaptable soft felt hat for morning wear. Pretty silk and wool trimming of soft contrasting shades. Can be obtained in all fashionable colours.

Price **9/11**

M 203.—A smart useful tweed hat, bound with leather, and trimmed with narrow leather band round crown, and smart feather mount at side. Suitable for golfing, shooting, and general country wear. Can be obtained in three shades.

Price **6/11**

Our own Motor Cars and Vans deliver to within about 30 miles of Westbourne Grove every day.

M 2.—A becoming Hat of pliable velour finished felt, smartly turned up at side, and trimmed with ornamental felt band of contrasting shades. Can be obtained in the following shades:—Purple, Cerise, Saxe, Navy, Dark Green, and Brown; also in Black.

Price **6/11**

SENT ON APPROVAL

WILLIAM OWEN,

WESTBOURNE GROVE, LONDON, W.

TWO SHORT PLAYS

During a damp autumn the woods in some parts of the country are remarkable for a strange fungus growth (is not Stinkhorn its name?) which is not unlike a wax candle. Instead of giving light, this curious morbid-looking thing gives out an abominable stench, which one may easily imagine comes from the dead body of some woodland creature. The connection between this counterfeit candle and "Instinct" (now being played at the Duke of York's Theatre) may not be at first sight obvious, but it becomes so when one compares the play with Mr. Bernard Shaw's "Candida," which it somewhat resembles in plot. Both plays have their precocious poet who is neither man nor child, who writes wonderful verse, and who exists, one is inclined to think, only in the brain of the playwright; both have the apparently wronged strong husband, and the wife who, while mothering the hapless and love-lorn poet, has allowed things to drift until "people begin to talk." But while Candida is a sane, healthy-minded woman who knows exactly where she is in her relationship with the two men, Mrs. Mandover is a morbid bundle of emotions over which she has no control, who at the crucial moment goes into very Early Victorian hysterics, and who, pressed by an extremely angry and threatening husband (who is himself hysterical at one moment) as to the nature of her affection for the poet, can only repeat feebly, "I don't know, I don't know," though to her brother-in-law the unhappy lady has been able to give quite a clear account of herself. It is questionable whether this holding up of the mirror to disease, clever though it may be, is to be commended from any point of view. "Instinct" is of French origin; it is by Penrhyn Stanlaws, from the French of Henry Kistermaeckers, and its scene is Long Island, New York. Miss Lilian Braithwaite and Mr. Aubrey Smith play the principal parts. The poet, one is rather glad to think, does not appear.

This play is followed by Mr. J. M. Barrie's delicious comedy, "Rosalind," in which Mrs. Page (Miss Irene Vanbrugh) while wallowing (to use her own word) in the enjoyment of middle-age and freedom from pretence, is suddenly recalled to what after all is real life to her, by the intrusion of one of her boy admirers, who thinks he is in love with her daughter, and whose discovery that mother and daughter are the same person is extremely funny. This charming play, with Mr. Donald Calthrop as Charles and Miss Helen Haye as Mrs. Quickly, sent one away feeling thankful that, while undoubtedly there are neurotics like Mrs. Mandover among us, there are also plenty of healthy sane women (the "twenty-nines" of the stage and of the stalls included) to take away the nasty taste.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS

The economic inequality of the sexes is based, according to the "Antis," on the assumption that a man has to support a wife. On what assumption, we would like to know, are the boys' prizes to be of higher value than those for girls in the forthcoming Children's Welfare Exhibition at Olympia? In the published list of prizes to be competed for, we note that in Class B, for Sixth Form boys and girls, the value of the boys' prizes is £10, that of the girls' prizes, £5; in Class D, for boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 16—boys' prizes, £4; girls', £3; in Class E, for children under 13—boys' prizes, £3; girls', £2. For some reason best known to the promoters of the exhibition, the equality of the sexes is recognised in the money value of the prizes offered in Class A, for boys and girls under 19; in Class C, for boys and girls over 15 and under 19; and in Class F, for children under 9. It cannot, therefore, be assumed that the unequal value of the prizes in the other three classes arises out of the schoolboy's habit of supporting a wife; for Classes A and C are the only ones in which the competitors might be of a marriageable age, and in those the prizes are of equal value for boys and girls.

In the choice of subjects for competition a similar spirit of reaction is rampant. In Class D, the boy between 12 and 16 can describe a "Storm at Sea," or make a model pump to be driven by a pulley on a shaft. The corresponding competitions for girls are (1) an embroidered cover for Bradshaw—an atrocity that we hoped had died with the Victorian young lady—and (2) a specimen of leather or brass work. Similarly, for children under 13, there is a doll's bonnet to be made by the girls, and an article with a jack knife by the boys.

We are not proposing that these competitions should be reversed, or the so-called "girls'" subjects withdrawn—to the Bradshaw cover we should give no quarter, however—but we do say that no real estimate of the standard of achievement in the schoolroom will ever be arrived at until in such competitions the whole range of subjects is thrown open to boys and girls alike, so that the Madame Curies and the Mrs. Hertha Ayrtons of the nursery might have a chance of making the model pump, and the William Morris or Cobden Sanderson of the future might enter for leather work if his talent happened to be for bookbinding and not for mechanics.

In the same way, there are schoolgirls who have a knowledge of the classics, and schoolboys who know German; so why proceed on the assumption that a language has to be dead before it is worthy of the masculine intellect? And why should it be only the girl who is to write an "Ode to a Child"? Is not the boy just as likely to be a father some day as the girl is to be a mother?

Clearly, we shall never get rid of sex antagonism and sex prejudice, and all the other morbid diseases with which the Anti-Suffrage point of view has tried to poison the healthy mind of the normal person, until we at least stop encouraging them in the schoolroom!

Peter Robinson's of Regent Street

OUR REGENT STREET House is noted for its distinctive fashions in Tailor-made Suits. The Styles are individual—different—yet always in the best of good taste. And the prices are NOT extravagant.

R.S. "Evelyn."

R.S. "EVELYN"

Smart Tailor-made—exact copy of a Paris Model—executed in our own workrooms in all the newest materials—

Velour de Laine
Corduroy Cloth
Serge Suitings,
&c. Coat cut on most becoming lines; skirt fashioned in the corselet style. Finished with velvet collar and trimmed strappings of own material.

Price **7½ Gns.**

R.S. "Burton."

R.S. "BURTON"

Young Ladies' Coat and Skirt carried out in the popular coarse Cheviot. The coat has the new full back held in with velvet piped strap which comes half way to front and gives the high-waisted effect; fastens to throat with velvet collar. Corselet shaped skirt. In all colours.

Price **5 Gns.**

Orders by post receive special attention; all purchases sent carriage free in Great Britain

Peter Robinson's of Regent Street

JAEGER

Fine Pure Wool

Jaeger Underwear outwears Garments that do not bear the Jaeger Name.

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MR. GALSWORTHY'S ESSAYS

"Sorrow don't buy bread," says the old cabman in one of Mr. Galsworthy's best sketches, and we would venture to suggest to the author that the true attitude to trouble is that of the sufferer not of the spectator. The sympathetic onlooker is apt to weave from his imagination a world of shades in which no one could possibly endure. He does not know the compensations and gleams, the mere vitality of courage, that make life worth living to those who may seem most broken. And that is why one feels that the title which covers more than half of this volume,* "Concerning Life," is ill-chosen, because these sketches deal only with the grey side of existence. Life does not consist solely of those who pity and those who are to be pitied, and surely the sight of pain and wickedness ought to stir anger rather than tears, the active rather than the passive attitude. Mr. Galsworthy himself says in his first essay one true thing which he immediately forgets—"to be sorry for them is, after all, only your euphemism for contempt."

"The Inn of Tranquility," although the title of one short essay only, very aptly describes the book. For it is all tranquil, tranquil when it is "Concerning Life" or when, in the second half, "Concerning Letters"; it is tranquilly pathetic and tranquil in its expressions of gentle pleasure. That is the characteristic note of the author, and perhaps it is scarcely fair to ask for some touch now and then of passion or joy or laughter.

Most volumes of disconnected essays express moods rather than a view of life. But in this collection there is an admirable consistency. It expresses a sensitive conscientious temperament, full of the love of gentle and beautiful things, and conscious to a rare degree of all the forms of life and feeling that ceaselessly suffer and strive outside its own orbit. Thus the insects in the grass are the subject of delicate psychology, so are the sheep-shearers and the threshers, and the waiter in the restaurant, and, of course, Mr. Galsworthy's famous "lost dog." All the people and things that most of us in the hurry of life take for granted as natural parts of the daily machine, are for him fields of wonderful discovery with gates into magic worlds. This all-round consciousness of other existences is the great gift Mr. Galsworthy brings to literature. And from that comes his fastidiousness both in word and thought, because if you have to consider everything and everyone all at the same time, you can never bluster or go about slip-shod.

Some of the best things in this volume are the descriptive essays. There is strangeness and charm in "Riding in Mist," and "Memories" is very pleasant to read, and all the passages of description, scattered throughout different essays, have that peculiar tone given by an observer to whom things seen are not only what *he* sees, and symbols of other things, but things in themselves as well.

The literary essays strike one as a little weighted by something like a sense of responsibility, but we are grateful for the whimsicalities of the "Windlestraw," in which a fatigued dramatist sits down determinedly to discover what "The Public" really is.

Those essays are of various dates, but presumably they are all later than Mr. Galsworthy's early novels. It would be interesting to know what has become of the deft, cynical, quietly cruel sarcasm of those days. There is no trace of it here. Has experience replaced cynicism by sympathy? Perhaps some day Mr. Galsworthy will tell us in an essay, although he never shows any desire to psychologise himself.

J. E. M.

* "The Inn of Tranquility." Studies and Essays by John Galsworthy. (London: Heinemann. 6s.)

A POLITICAL SATIRE*

Some ingenuous person once said that satire is a method that works all right as long as it is applied to your enemy but you find out its weak points as soon as it is directed against your friends. We were reminded of this simple saying as we read Mr. Laurence Housman's new political satire, "John of Jingalo." As a satirical comment upon party government under a constitutional monarchy, and upon the Liberal administration of the last seven years in particular, the book is a brilliant success. Where the author touches upon the militant women's movement which has played so large a part in the history of those seven years, he seems less sure of his ground. We are, of course, particularly sensitive and particularly critical in this matter, and perhaps we do Mr. Housman an injustice when we say that in "John of Jingalo" the least successful passages seem to us to be those dealing with women and woman's position. Perhaps, indeed very probably, this is so because Mr. Housman takes this part of his subject so seriously that he drops his veil of satire as soon as he comes to deal with it, and the reader is not always aware of the change. One is not prepared, for instance, to find Max, the delightfully human jester of the book, who appears generally to have an understanding soul where women are concerned, give this definition of his love for the Archbishop's daughter—"An intense personal desire to endow a certain woman with motherhood"—and it jars. On the other hand, it is of this same Max and the woman he loves that the author has written one of the best passages in the book:—

His mind started a guess that he had before him, in fact, an inexperience of life underlying intimate acquaintance with grief and poverty which he would not have believed to be possible . . . an example set before him of that idealistic waste of womanhood which is for ever going on, and which for bad practical reasons society is always encouraging. For, depend upon it, the practical social result is what we men are really afraid of—not lest our women should lose either modesty or charm, but lest with knowledge they should apply themselves too ruthlessly to practical ends, and set upon their charm a price which hitherto we have avoided having to pay. And as he so moralised upon the relations of sex, a sentimental desire grew in him to kneel down there and then at her feet and tell her how good a young man, from his point of view, he had always been—and how bad a one from hers.

The women's movement apart, and it occupies only a small portion of the book, this satire upon kingship and democratic government is an admirable piece of work. John of Jingalo himself, realising that he has hitherto been only "human domestically," makes a wild bid for freedom, and endeavours to be human right royally. Defying his Prime Minister and his Cabinet, he sets out to enjoy just as much liberty of action as strict constitutional law allows him, and that is a good deal more than a Liberal Cabinet likes him to have. One of the funniest episodes is his censorship of an immoral musical comedy, which increases his—and its—popularity tenfold. Another is his insistence upon washing the feet of the poor on the steps of the Cathedral.

Failing in his personal appeal, the Prime Minister turned on the Departments, and the King fought them one by one: the Board of Works, which wanted to have the roads up; the Clerk of the Weather, who said that a depression unsuitable for open-air gatherings was crossing Europe; the Chief of the Police, who said that so large an open space was bad for a crowd; the Minister of Public Worship, who wished everything to be done, if done at all, indoors and unobtrusively, by preference in one of the Royal Chapels; the effect, he said, would be more reverent.

But quotation is inadequate where so much depends, as in all satire, upon the whole scheme of the book. "John of Jingalo" will only be appreciated to the full by those who read it from cover to cover.

* "John of Jingalo." By Laurence Housman. (Chapman and Hall. 6s.)

THE DIVORCE COMMISSION

To those who want to understand the true nature of the problem of Divorce and the recommendations of the majority and minority reports of the recent Commission, we confidently recommend the exceedingly able summary just written by the Hon. H. Gorell Barnes and J. E. G. de Montmorency. In this book, of about 100 pages, published by King and Son, at 1s. net, the principal findings of the Commission are very clearly set out. There are also valuable appendices dealing with the history of the subject and with the laws prevailing in other countries of the world.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Marie Antoinette." By Lady Younghusband. (London: Macmillan. Price 15s.)

"Immanence." By Evelyn Underhill. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd. Price 4s. 6d. net.)

"The Private Life of Henry Maitland." By Morley Roberts. (London: Eveleigh Nash. Price 6s.)

"When the King Came South." By Helen M. Watson. (London: Religious Tract Society. Price 6s.)

"Ruth's Marriage." By Constance Smedley. (London: Religious Tract Society. Price 6s.)

"Aunt Patience." By Evelyn Everett Green. (London: Religious Tract Society. Price 3s. 6d.)

"Three Women." By Netta Syrett. (London: Chatto and Windus. Price 6s.)

"My Autobiography." By Madame Judith, of the Comedie Française. (London: Eveleigh Nash. Price 10s. 6d.)

"The House of Commons from Within." By the Right Hon. Robert Farquharson. (London: Williams and Norgate. Price 7s. 6d.)

"My Life." By August Bebel. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. Price 7s. 6d. net.)

"The First Twelve Centuries of British Story." By J. W. Jeudwine. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Price 12s. 6d. net.)

"Sex and Sanctity." By Lucy Re-Bartlett. (Longmans, Green and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Where Duty Calls." By Alfred H. Miles. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 5s.)

"In the Lion's Mouth." By Alfred H. Miles. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 5s.)

"The Three Anarchists." By Maud Stepney Rawson. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 6s.)

"The Evolution of Suffrage." By Frank R. J. Scott. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Price 1s. net.)

"The Upholstered Cage." By Josephine Pitcairn Knowles. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. Price 6s.)

"The Magic World." By E. Nesbit. (London: Macmillan. Price 6s.)

HOW WOMEN CAN EARN MONEY

A prominent New York woman has established an institute which is distributing free a new book entitled "Lessons by Mail in Beauty Culture." It explains how anyone can become an expert in manicuring, hair-dressing, facial massage, &c., and gives interesting and valuable information for women and girls who would improve their own appearance or take up the highly profitable profession of beauty culture. The edition of free books is limited, and the institute has a pleasant surprise for the first 500 women who apply for free books; therefore, if interested, write at once. Simply send your name and address and 2d. in stamps to International Institute of Beauty Culture, Suite 129, No. 260, Westminster Bridge Road, London, S.E., England.—[ADVT.]

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MILITANTS AT WESTMINSTER

The remarkable events of last week in the House of Commons have presented to many besides ourselves a striking parallel with the militant agitation for Votes for Women. Thus the editor of the *Westminster Gazette* went so far in his leading article on Thursday as to dub the Unionist members responsible for it "Unionettes" in imitation of the now well-recognised word "Suffragettes," invented a few years ago by a contemporary. Other Liberal papers have developed the same theme, and those Unionists who, like Professor Dicey, disapproved of the course pursued, have warned their M.P.'s against taking a leaf out of the book of the militant women.

The parallel was, in fact, remarkably close. In the opinion of the Unionists the Prime Minister, confident in his power to override all opposition, was proposing to carry through a wholly arbitrary proceeding. Against the mechanical, whip-driven majority of the House of Commons, all ordinary resistance would have proved quite futile; argument, entreaty, criticism would have been met by the simple answer of overwhelming votes; a new precedent would have been created, strengthening yet further the autocratic power of the Government of the day. Faced with this situation, the bolder members of the Unionist Party frankly threw aside all traditions of good manners and gentlemanly behaviour, and determined to make the conduct of public affairs impossible. And in this they so far succeeded that the sitting for the day was suspended, and on the following afternoon the Speaker recommended Mr. Asquith to find a solution "more in accordance with the traditions of the House," a recommendation which he was fain to adopt.

This action of the Unionist M.P.'s cannot be justified along ordinary lines, it can only be justified by sheer necessity, by the right of those who consider themselves oppressed to use any means, however revolutionary, to avert the tyranny of arbitrary power. In its leading article of Monday last the *Times* states that the defence of the Unionist M.P.'s against the charge of anarchy is "that no course was open to them but the course they took, or abject submission to the untrammelled tyranny of the Cabinet." This sentence, which might have been taken bodily, without the change of a comma, from some old copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN, is the defence which many a militant has put forward in vain from the dock of a London Police Court. For the women, like the Unionist members, are faced with the fact that the Prime Minister claims arbitrary power. In fact, the position of the women is stronger, for in their case, by his fiat, he proposes to override his own pledged word, the overwhelming opinion of the country, and an actual majority in the elected Chamber itself.

But the parallel does not stop at the actions of the combatants themselves. It follows an identical line with regard to the criticism which has been levelled at the heads of those who have taken part. The Liberal Press, with one accord, condemns the unmannerly action of the interrupters just as it has always condemned the tactics, so inconvenient to the Liberal Cabinet, adopted by the women. And further, there has not been wanting a constitutional section in the Unionist camp, represented by Professor Dicey, by the *Daily Graphic* and many others, who have not hesitated to tell their headstrong friends that by their conduct they were injuring the cause, they were dragging the name of Unionist in the dust, and that the only pathway to success lay in pursuit of the decorous, constitutional, gentlemanly conduct which has been adopted on previous occasions.

Here, unfortunately, the parallel ends. In spite of the croakers the Unionist militants succeeded absolutely. They were out to prevent Mr. Asquith from carrying a particular resolution which was obnoxious to them, and they won. Mr. Asquith was forced to withdraw the resolution, and to substitute another which was not open to the same objection. The militant Suffragists have not been as yet definitely successful. They are out to get a Votes for Women Bill passed through the British Parliament, and though they have made Woman Suffrage a world-wide political issue, this particular victory is not yet secured. The difference in result is due to two main causes.

In the first place it is much harder to compel anyone to do a definite positive act which you desire, than to abstain from doing something which you dislike. Moreover, the passage of a Votes for Women measure is obviously a very much greater and more difficult achievement than the suppression of an obnoxious resolution.

But in our opinion these considerations, important as they are, would not alone have enabled the Government to continue to block the enfranchisement of women during seven years of militant action had it not been for a fatal weakness in the ranks of Suffragists themselves. We have noticed the presence of croakers among the Unionists who deprecated "ungentlemanly" behaviour when their fellows demanded vigorous action; but these croakers were few. Had they been far more numerous, had a large proportion of Unionist M.P.'s not merely refrained from action themselves, but pointed the finger of scorn at the others, the Speaker would have "named" the insurgents, order would have been restored, and the Prime Minister would have carried his resolution. In the case of the women's fight, that is what has happened. The great body of constitutional Suffragists, complacent in their ladylike respectability, have betrayed the women who were fighting the battle, and have over and over again given victory into the hands of the enemy. This treacherous behaviour of women against women must cease! Let those who disagree be silent if they disapprove, but do not let them in their ignorance of the forces which count in politics strike a blow at those who understand!

But our final word is for the Government. It is true that for the past seven years coercion and not concession has been successfully put into operation. It is true that for a little time longer still this policy may succeed. But every day the militant spirit among women is growing, every day the old ideas about the chivalry of men are becoming more ridiculed, every day women are learning the hard truth that might and not right rules the world. If the Government care anything for the welfare of the country and for the maintenance of law and order, they will yield even now while some respect for authority remains. If they are determined to hold out to the bitter end they will, by so doing, teach not merely the Suffragettes, but the men and women of every class and persuasion, that only by militancy and disorder can any political victory be achieved.

A LOST DOG

By G. Colmore, Author of "Suffragette Sally"

He had turned her out. He had said that if she didn't value her home she should do without it; he had declared that she must choose between the hysterical nonsense she called a cause and her duty; he had vowed that if she went on that confounded deputation—on the evening, too, when he had invited Parkinson to dinner—she should never darken his doors again. And she had taken him at his word. She had chosen the hysterical nonsense, and not the obvious duty of entertaining Parkinson; she had gone on the deputation, and been clapped into prison for her pains; and after her release she had given up her home, without a single attempt to re-enter it. He was sorry for that; he had hoped to have had the satisfaction of preventing her entrance or of turning her out, and he had had no satisfaction at all; the sight of her empty chair did not somehow inspire him with the exhilaration of conquest.

All that was three years ago; three years during which he had had no sight of her, no direct knowledge of her doings. She had had plenty of time to repent, but had not repented, or at least had given no visible sign of repentance. He had expected her to come to her senses, to capitulate on his terms, to admit tacitly if not in actual words (and he would have spared her the words) that he had been right and she wrong, that he was the stronger and she the weaker, that he was master of the situation, and her position untenable. From time to time he read her name in the daily Press; now and again, and with increasing frequency, he bought a Suffrage paper, to see, as he put it, if she were bringing yet further disgrace upon his name. She generally was: when there was mention of her it was almost always in connection with some action called by reputable journals an outrage. At such times he longed ardently that she might make an attempt to return home, so that he might have the relief of telling her what he thought of her. But she never gave him the opportunity he desired; she never, during the three years sent him so much as a message, never attempted, even in a roundabout way, to open negotiations with him.

At first Parkinson had come to dinner fairly frequently, and Butterworth and Lee-Brown, and they had smoked in the drawing-room, and played bridge and drunk whiskey; and he had said to himself that it was very jolly to be quite free again, to have got back his bachelor independence, and be able to do exactly as he liked. Then, somehow, the house had seemed to depress Parkinson; or he had fancied it; not that it *was* depressing—but—anyway, when he had suggested that it would be jollier to meet at the Club, Parkinson had agreed, and Lee-Brown and Butterworth too; and it was at the Club now that they dined and played bridge together. Club life, he found, made a fellow deuced fastidious. The table linen at home seemed to him creased and dingy, the glass dim, the silver tarnished; whereas in the days when he seldom went to his Club, the days before his wife left him (that was how he put it after three years) he had always believed that the glass, linen, and silver at his table could not be bettered anywhere. He began to think he would give up the house and go into residential chambers. He would certainly be more comfortable in chambers, he decided; and he was about to put the house into an agent's hands when he fell ill.

It was a miserable illness, a sort of long-drawn-out attack of influenza, depressing enough in the acute stage, doubly depressing during the slow convalescence. He had once before had influenza, and then she—well, she was a good nurse anyhow, though she was one of the women who had no love for her home. Extraordinarily cheerful she was too; his chief memory of that other convalescence was in connection with her laughter, her ridiculous ways. Lord! if he could hear it now! if he could see her come—— Did he really want to see her come in? Of course not. Being ill made a fool of a fellow, and gave him all sorts of absurd sentimental fancies. If Parkinson now, or one of those other chaps, would look in and have a smoke——. But Parkinson came very rarely, and the others more rarely still. He wondered if it was because his room didn't look very cheerful, because there were no flowers about, as there were that other time when he was ill; or whether it was because he himself had grown dull. Perhaps he had, no doubt he had, dull and stupid; but then anybody, he didn't care who, lying there day after day, with nobody—— Of course he was dull; who wouldn't be? It was when you were ill that women—that that verse which expressed so beautifully the—how did it go?

"When pain and anguish wring the brow
A ministering angel thou."

Yes, that was it. But she? *She?* Not much of the ministering angel about *her*. She was a militant Suffragette. With the moisture of self-pity in his eyes, he tried to adapt the lines to the situation:—

When care and anguish wring the brow,
A militant suffragette thou.

No, it wouldn't scan, and he had a feeling for scansion; it wouldn't scan—unless you put the emphasis on the second syllable:—

When care and anguish wring the brow,
A militant suf*fra*gette thou.

It sounded ridiculous; he decided not to think about the stupid false verse any more; but the tiresome part was that, having once got it into his head, he couldn't get it out again. It seemed to go with the ticking of the clock; it seemed to sound in the ringing of the church bells next day—that miserable Sunday when he saw nobody except the cook who brought him his tea, because the housemaid was out, and later on the housemaid, who brought him a dinner which appeared to have been cooked while the cook was out. After that he decided that he could stand it no longer: he would go out, even if he brought on a relapse. Besides, what did it matter if he did have a relapse? What did it matter if he snuffed out altogether? Who would care? His sister perhaps, in Australia; nobody else. As for *her*, absorbed in her everlasting propaganda—oh! he saw the point of it all right; those Suffrage papers he had bought had dinned it into him with their confounded articles that met every argument. He saw the point; he didn't say there was nothing in it; if only she had taken a different line—— Well, it was all over; no good thinking about it. When she heard of his death, her conscience might perhaps be wounded, if not her heart.

* * * * * * * * *

He went out the next afternoon. He felt weak, and queer about the legs; so got into a taxi-cab and told the chauffeur to drive him to—to—oh, Battersea! He didn't care where he went; Battersea would do as well as anywhere; and it was good to rush through the streets, good to see people about, good to feel the stir of life around him. At Battersea Park he dismissed the taxi and went into the Park. He thought the air would do him good, but somehow it didn't, and he found his way back to the streets, meaning to take another taxi home. But he could not see one, and he wandered on, feeling more tired and more miserable every minute. He began to wish he had not come out; he began to wish all sorts of impossible things. It was dusk, verging towards darkness, and he was not quite sure where he was.

* * * * * * * * *

Round the corner she came, close past him and in at the open door. It was a block of flats she entered. He stopped, leaning on his stick, partly to rest, partly to wonder. What was she doing here? Did she live, perhaps in——? In a moment his question was answered, before it was asked, almost. A light sprang up in a window close to him, and within—yes, there she was! He could see quite plainly into the room, for there was only a thin net curtain across the window, very white, very fine, just like the curtains there used to be at home. He saw her unpin her hat and throw it on to the sofa; and then she began to lay the table. A cloth, snowy white and free from creases, a little silver, bright as his own had once seemed to him to be, glass that shone. And she herself, dainty still, with the movements that he knew, her hair dressed in the same old way as in the first years of marriage, as on the day when she became his wife. She was in there, independent, happy, no doubt; in there, with a flicker of firelight speaking of comfort and of warmth; in there, with a life full of interest and no sense of loneliness; while he—— Standing outside, he could only watch her; standing outside, he had no part nor lot in her life or her thoughts: he was as much cut off from her as if he were a dog; and, no more than a dog, unowned and homeless, had he any right to go in.

* * * * * * * * *

She had made everything ready, had added the brass tray with the tea-things, and had put the kettle on the fire, when the bell rang. She just planted the kettle safely in a bed of coal, and then went to the door. A man stood there, leaning on a stick. He did not speak.

"Who are you? What do you want?" she asked.

He answered: "I am a—a lost dog."

She looked at him. "Is it you, James? Come in."

Inside, he saw that her face was paler than it used to be, and graver; that there were lines where no lines had been; and something in her eyes, or behind them, that was new. And yet she was just as she had always been, knowing exactly what he needed, just what would soothe and help him.

"You never wrote, you never gave me a sign," he said.

"Because I knew what you would answer."

"When will you come back?"

"Just when you choose to ask me." She laughed; in her old way; yet not quite in the old way, for there was a sob in the laughter; but he, hearing that laughter, had no more fear of illness or of convalescence, no more dread of loneliness and depression, and no faintest desire for the company of Parkinson.

THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

Inspired by the courage and strength which the realisation of the world-wide unity of spirit and comradeship in work gives us, the thoughts of Suffragists turn to the early pioneers of our great movement for women's enfranchisement with a sense of inexpressible gratitude.

I have been deeply touched by a letter that I have just received from two ladies, one over eighty years of age. Both were identified with the Votes for Women agitation in its earliest manifestation in this country, and both have remained absolutely loyal to it in every thought and endeavour of their lives for over fifty years. The light of faith still shines in the eyes grown physically weary with the long watching for the hope yet unfulfilled. They enclose £5 for Mr. Lansbury's Election Fund.

The fellowship of the aged who, having carried the lamp of truth unfalteringly to the end of the journey, breathe their blessing upon us who follow them, is infinitely sacred to us. We are fighting for the same ideal, yet not as they—the almost isolated pioneers—fought, but as a great victorious and triumphant army, sweeping on with ever increasing numbers and breaking down barrier after barrier as we go. Whatever the difficulties are that have yet to be overcome in our fight for political freedom, we face them with our battalions, and we can see the end.

And they enter into our joy as we have entered into their faith and labour.

There is room for old and young, for rich and poor, for the busy and the leisured, for women and for men in our VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, of which our VOTES FOR WOMEN paper is the centre.

Good work has been done by the members during the past week. The paper has been sold outside all the principal meetings. And there has been a splendid rally at Bow and Bromley.

More Paper-Sellers Wanted

All volunteers who have time to give during the next few days should come and see Mrs. MacLeod at the VOTES FOR WOMEN Offices, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, on Thursday and Friday morning, from 11 to 1. Or they should put themselves in touch with Mrs. Pantlin, at 162, Bow Road, any afternoon or evening.

We Want More Posters Shown

Almost any newsagent will show a poster if a certain number of copies of the paper are purchased or guaranteed by customers.

Those who cannot give personal service are asked to send contributions to the

Special Poster Fund

so that posters can be put up in prominent pitches, railway stations, and kiosks where they attract the attention of large crowds of passers by.

The immediate practical object of the Fellowship is to draw into the movement those who, at present, do not rightly understand it, and are not interested because they do not understand.

They will understand the movement if the paper is brought to their notice and they can be led to read it.

There are thousands of women who take small interest in party politics who do not realise for instance that Votes for Women could put an end to the White Slave Traffic. If they could grasp that, they would be heart and soul with us.

They are needed in our army. Let all the readers of our paper become recruiting sergeants. So shall the attainment of our political emancipation be hastened and our fellowship be even more widely extended.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

POSTER FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	64	7	1
Dr. Caroline Sturge	2	0	0
Miss Gay	2	0	0
Miss E. L. Lambert	0	2	0
Miss Sage	0	5	0
Lady Constance Lytton	0	6	2
Miss C. F. Hughesdon	0	5	0
Miss R. Allen-Olney	2	0	0
Miss K. Broadhurst	0	5	0
The Misses A. & D. Allen-Brown	0	10	0
Miss H. E. S. Sheppard	2	0	0
Mrs. M. H. Horsley	0	10	0
Miss L. Lindsay	0	5	0
A Cowardly Sympathiser	0	2	6
Miss Helen M. Brailey	0	5	0
Miss Minnie Evans	1	1	0
Miss Olive Walton	1	5	0
Mrs. A. L. Leslie	1	1	0
Mrs. Jacobs	0	5	0
Miss Lucie James	1	1	0
Miss L. Thomson-Price	0	10	0
Total	80	5	9

KEEPING THE FLAG FLYING

A correspondent sends us the following:

Sir Rufus Isaacs gave a presidential address to the Young British Liberals Society in the Town Hall, Birmingham, on Friday, November 15. As he rose, a man shouted a protest against "the Government's injustice to women." He was ejected. "Look here," the Attorney-General cried, "I have undertaken to answer at the close three questions put by the representatives of Suffrage Societies, and they have undertaken that there shall be no disturbance. That bargain I will keep if the bargain is kept with me. Otherwise I am absolved."

At the close of a speech lasting seventy-five minutes, Sir Rufus was asked three questions by a representative of the Women's Social and Political Union. The first was whether the Attorney-General would give his word of honour that no pressure, direct or indirect, was being or would be brought to bear on any members of Parliament by the Government to vote against the amendment to the Reform Bill which had for its object the extension of the franchise to women. To this he said "Certainly." The Government had pledged that the matter would be left open.

The second question was: "That being so, how does the Attorney-General explain Mr. Asquith's statement in the House of Commons that he would not expect the House to stultify itself by the passing of such a measure?"

In reply, Sir Rufus said: "Mr. Asquith has stated that he is against Woman Suffrage, and when he made that statement he was no doubt referring to the fact that the House of Commons had refused to pass the Conciliation Bill."

The third question was: "Does not the Atorney-General think that, in view of the Cabinet's pledge to remain neutral on this matter, it was a distinct breach of honour that two members of the Cabinet spoke against Mr. Snowden's amendment?"

Sir Rufus: "No. I was one of the two, and I voted against it because the amendment was brought up on the Home Rule Bill, and our view was that that was a question which had to be decided when they got to the Franchise Bill for the United Kingdom."

No more time was allowed, and the meeting was closed in the usual manner.

Before the meeting, after the doors were opened, the men going in were greatly puzzled to see a chauffeur in livery twice refused admittance. They were told it was a woman in disguise. The chauffeur protested that he had a right to be there, as he was in the possession of a ticket, and there had been a statement in the local Press that morning from the secretary of the Young Liberals that "they prided themselves on doing what no other political organisation in Birmingham ever does, namely, they throw open the floor of the hall to the public without restriction."

Just before the meeting began a great disturbance occurred in the gallery, and after much debate and argument a woman, dressed in a man's coat and cap, was ejected from the hall. The stewards searched everywhere, carefully scrutinising everyone in the audience, so sure were they that they had not seen the last of that chauffeur.

As the car bearing Sir Rufus Isaacs left the hall, there was a great shouting, through which could be heard the cries, "Votes for Women!" "Put women in the Reform Bill!" and "Resign!" Purple, white and green posters were held high above the crowd, kept back by rows of sturdy policemen. A man got near enough to throw suffrage handbills through the open window of the car, which was then closed.

One woman slipped through the police ranks and seized the handle of the car door, but was immediately pulled back by the crowd, who told her she would be killed. A policeman of very high rank, in plain clothes, ran up to her white with rage, and with walking stick raised above his head, snarled, "You ——!" The men standing round got in between them.

MR. MASTERMAN

We learn from a correspondent that on Friday in last week, when Mr. Masterman, M.P., spoke at Devonshire Hall, Hackney, many suffragists were ejected. The first was a man who protested against Mr. Masterman standing on a Liberal platform. "He is no Liberal," he said. The rest of his challenge, says our correspondent, was lost in the howls of the wolf pack as they rushed him out. When the uproar died down, another man called out, "The man is right; Mr. Masterman, you are no Liberal. You voted against Women's Suffrage last week." He also was bundled swiftly into the street, where he saw men and women being violently turned out. One was carried out without her hat, with her hair pulled down. A lady of sixty years of age, who was very roughly ejected, stated that she was until recently a member of the local Liberal Women's organisation. One man was ejected for checking a steward's assault on a woman.

A Liberal Woman's Ejection

Mrs. Helen E. Goudge writes to the *Daily Herald*:—

As a Liberal woman for more than twenty years, a member of the Women's Liberal Association, and a hard worker for that time in the cause, I attended a meeting last Friday evening at Devonshire Hall, Mare Street, Hackney, convened by the Central Hackney Liberal Association. During the meeting some remark was made by a woman sitting close to me, whereupon a number of so-called Liberal stewards attacked the woman brutally, and two ladies close by, including myself, protested. Then they set upon us like a set of football punchers and treated us brutally, and had we fallen down we might have been lamed for life. I never before saw such cowardly and disgraceful treatment of women.

IRISH SUFFRAGISTS ARRESTED

Mrs. Connery and Mrs. Emerson, the two members of the Irish Women's Franchise League who were charged with having broken windows in the Custom House, Dublin, were arrested on Tuesday in last week. The magistrate in imposing a fine on each allowed them a week in which to pay it. The fine has not been paid, and on Tuesday last Mrs. Emerson and Mrs. Connery were arrested at the office of the Irish Women's Franchise League at Great Brunswick Street, and taken to Mountjoy Prison.

Mrs. Cousins, secretary of the League, has addressed a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, contending that the case of these ladies is similar to that of the eight other Irish Suffragists who recently, while serving sentences in Mountjoy, were granted by His Excellency the treatment accorded to political prisoners, and praying that the same course may be taken in regard to Mrs. Emerson and Mrs. Connery.

At a meeting of the Irish Women's Franchise League last week, Mrs. Emerson said she felt that breaking the Custom House windows was altogether too small a protest, and that nothing short of a bomb would adequately express her feelings. She caused much amusement by describing Mr. Macinerney's action as "fining them without the option of imprisonment." No Suffragette ever paid a fine. The Press stated that the Dublin Police now had extra night duty because attacks on pillar-boxes were "anticipated." She thought that was characteristic of male-run systems; they never anticipated anything until after it had happened!

Mrs. Connery said she would have forfeited her self-respect if she had not made a militant protest against the defeat of the Snowden Amendment. She might manage to exist without the vote for a little time longer, but she could not exist without her self-respect. The debate of last week had made her a more convinced militant than before.

MRS. LEIGH AND MISS EVANS

We are informed by our Irish Correspondent that the police siege of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans is being maintained.

WINDOW BREAKERS SENTENCED

On Wednesday afternoon Miss Isabella Irving and Miss Ethel Slade were tried at Newington Sessions, before Mr. Lawrie, charged with doing damage to plate-glass windows in Bond Street on November 5, amounting in all to £162. Both pleaded "Not guilty," and defended themselves. Mr. Travers Humphreys prosecuted.

After many witnesses had been called and had proved the offences, and the amount of damage done, Miss Irving addressed the jury. She declared her motives were to protest against the rejection of the Snowden Amendment to the Home Rule Bill, and also the Government's treatment of Miss Gladys Evans in Dublin. She instanced the case of 1,000 windows smashed by miners, where no arrests were made, and compared the attitude of the Government towards Suffragist property-destroyers with that towards men convicted of assaults on young girls.

Miss Slade said that the Cause had been deserted by members of Parliament, and that militant methods only appeared senseless to those who had no eyes to see.

After the judge had told the jury they were not to consider the motive, but only the law, a verdict of "Guilty" was returned in each case. A sentence of six months was passed on Miss Irving, and of four months on Mics Slade.

A SEQUEL

The Prime Minister, on his return from Venice early in October, paid a flying visit to Scotland, and addressed a Liberal meeting at Ladybank. Among the militant Suffragists present to enter protests against his attitude with regard to Woman Suffrage was Miss Ellison Gibb. At the Sheriff Court House on Tuesday last Mr. Edwin H. Smith was sentenced to five shillings or five days' imprisonment for the charge of assaulting her on that occasion.

THAT CLOCK AGAIN!

Miss Maud Malone, who interrupted Governor Wilson at a Brooklyn (N.Y.) meeting recently, was severely spoken to by Chief Magistrate Kempner, who said: "If such conduct as yours is suffered to go unpunished the number of dangerous cranks will multiply, as also the number of mayors, presidents, and other public men who will be carrying bullets in their bodies. In reality you only succeeded in disgracing yourself and injuring that cause. Persons of your type only retard the day of women's enfranchisement, just as the stone-throwers and window-smashers in England are setting back, instead of advancing, their cause in that country."

We seem to have heard something like that in this country too. Yet the Cause advances by leaps and bounds.

THE MARCH FROM EDINBURGH TO LONDON

Practically all the London Suffrage Societies, with their banners, met the marchers at the Camden Town rallying-point last Saturday, and a number of petitions were added to those collected on the journey from Edinburgh, and carried in the van, on the outside of which appeared in large letters:—"Petition to the Prime Minister. We, the undersigned, pray that the Government will bring in a Bill giving Votes to Women this Session."

In front of the marchers was borne a banner with the figure of a mail-clad maiden bearing aloft the "Flaming Torch of Truth." The original intention was that the banner should bear the device of an olive branch, but after the Government Whips had been put on in the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill, the flaming torch was substituted for the symbol of peace.

Mr. Cecil Chapman and Mr. Israel Zangwill were among the men who marched from Camden Town.

In Trafalgar Square half-a-dozen meetings were in progress. At the principal one Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, who organised the London reception, presided, and the speakers included Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck. Mrs. de Fonblanque, who gave an entertaining account of the march, mentioned that thousands upon thousands of signatures to the petition were got on the line of route. "The country is with us," she said. "That is the message we bring you to-day."

The most significant thing about the march is the testimony to the unqualified friendliness of the people whom they encountered on their long walk from Edinburgh. "We have nowhere encountered an unfriendly reception," said Mrs. de Fonblanque in Trafalgar Square, "and we have wakened up places on the way where woman suffragists had hardly ever been seen before. From a propaganda point of view the march has been quite a success." Of humorous incidents there were plenty. As an example of quick-witted repartee, we quote the following story from somewhere in the Midlands: One of the marchers, in reply to a man who said to her, "If you was my wife I'd pisen yer," answered genially, "And if I was I'd take it!"

Topical.]

Miss White, Miss Brown, Mrs. Byham, Mrs. de Fonblanque, Miss Benett, Miss Robinson.

What happened at No. 10, Downing Street, where the petition was delivered after the meeting, is recounted by Mrs. de Fonblanque, who writes:—

We were received by Mr. Eric Drummond, a private secretary to Mr. Asquith, at No. 10, Downing Street, but not invited to go further.

"Do you want to come in?" we were asked.

"Naturally," I said, "when you have come 400 miles on foot to carry a message, you want to be received in a dignified manner."

Mr. Eric Drummond then invited us in, and I had the opportunity of emphasising the object of presenting the Petition of the People.

"Will you tell Mr. Asquith," I said, "that the country is with us, but not the hooligan. If you pass the Manhood Suffrage Bill, you will be handing the women over to the hooligan; and women will not submit to be at the mercy of the hooligan vote. We want to be governed by the man who plays football, not the looker-on. And please will you tell Mr. Asquith that we have only been able to obtain signatures along the route of our march of 400 miles, and then only from sympathisers at our meetings and friends on the road we have traversed. We have not had time to canvass towns nor deviate from our prescribed line of route."

The marchers, wearing their sensible uniform—brown, with emerald green tie and cockade—and looking in splendid condition, had an enthusiastic reception at the Medical Society's Rooms, in Chandos Street, on Monday evening. Originally convened to welcome Mrs. Cecil Chapman, the President of the New Constitutional Society for Women Suffrage, after a long illness, the reception also, at Mrs. Chapman's special request, afforded an opportunity for a large number of suffragists, both men and women, to see and chat with the "Brown Women," and to hear from them some delightful reminiscences of their historic walk. The company included a strong contingent of militant spirits, if one might judge from the hearty applause which greeted Mrs. Fonblanque's remark that but for the militants the march would never have been undertaken. "We cannot sleep in our beds," she said, amid intense enthusiasm, "knowing what these women have suffered in this fight."

One of the most human stories was of Mrs. de Fonblanque's mare, bred and broken-in by herself, who proved so militant that when given water by someone on the route with the ungracious remark, "I'll give it to the horse, but I wouldn't give it to a suffragette," responded by plunging her head into the pail and splashing the surrounding crowd. Another good story was of a marcher who, on inviting a group of workmen who were filling in a drain to sign the petition, and being told they must not stop work, herself wheeled the barrow so that there should be no loss of time.

"I'll give you a gun to shoot Lloyd George," was an offer of frequent occurrence, and not confined to any special locality.

A touching message from Mrs. Leigh was read by Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, the "Marcher" who presided. That brave soldier, who is still, we understand, living in a state of siege, wrote that only illness prevented her from being in the ranks, and a most characteristic message closed with the words, "No surrender!"

Another message was from the Russian League of Women's Rights, whose president telegraphed:—"The League greets the valiant women marchers, and hopes that the brave women of England will soon see the triumph of their cause.—President: Schishkins Tavein."

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE PRESS

The Lansbury Election

The Special Correspondent of the *Morning Post*, under the heading, "Discretion's Valour," writes:—

The "downheartedness" of the Government could scarcely have been more effectually displayed than by the situation which I have attempted to describe at Bow and Bromley. . . . No wonder the Liberals resent their treatment at Bow and Bromley, and this evidence of moral and political bankruptcy at headquarters will have no exhilarating effect on the Liberal Party elsewhere.

Mr. Lansbury could not have chosen a more appropriate season than mid-November for his by-election in Bow and Bromley. Political outlines are blurred, and party shapes are indistinctly seen in the fog in which he and the Liberals between them have enveloped the constituency. The atmosphere would have been fairly clear if the Liberals had brought forward a candidate, but their decision not to fight the seat has placed the Government in the unusual position at a contested by-election of being without even a passive defender.—**"The Times" Special Correspondent.**

There is no Liberal candidate in the division; but there are some able Liberal speakers for Mr. Lansbury. Not that he invited them. That is not Mr. Lansbury's way. But there is no resisting his zeal for humanity, his bright optimism, and his childlike faith. . . . . In the meantime there is talk, at least, of a Tory candidate. He is said to be Mr. Reginald Blair. He has just issued an election address, and on the strength of that one may assume he is busy. On my pointing out this evidence of opposition to Mr. Banks, the Labour candidate's agent, he admitted indifferently that it looked like a Tory address, and passed on. Mr. Banks does not flatter the opposition by even pretending to be aware of its existence. "All I want," he remarked, wiping his brow, "is the entire conversion of the whole division to George Lansbury."—**"Daily News" Special Correspondent.**

Meanwhile the other candidate, Mr. Reginald Blair, has issued his address. It bids fair to become the comic manifesto of the contest. In fact, it only ranks next to what is to be seen over the "No Votes For Women" committee room. These premises were let before these curious folk took them. And now the good people of Bow and Bromley are smiling at the top sign, which reads: "Late the Shirt Kings," while just below one reads: "No Petticoat Government." Apparently they are having it both ways in this little camp, but during the time that the *Daily Herald* man watched yesterday, very few persons responded to the request to walk inside and "sign the petition." They do not appear to be taking much that way in Bow.—**Daily Herald.**

Answer—The Solidarity of Suffragists

What, for instance, can one make of a large meeting of working-class folk addressed by an aristocratic lady Suffragist ("non-militant, law-abiding") and an uncompromising all-round rebel whom Tower Hill has heard, and a famous medical man of orthodox Liberal opinion, and a Socialist trade unionist of the unalloyed S.D.F. type, and two others who appeared to be literary and unpolitical folk?—**Daily News.**

Militants at Westminster

Their warnings have been derided. Their restraint has been in vain. If they were violent they were called rash and vulgar. If they were quiet they were called slack and weak. For more than a year they have put a harsh curb upon the strongest convictions—upon the most prophetic view of public wrong and coming evil—that can animate men. Their speeches have been unheeded. The long clack of Parliamentary talk has gone on amid the dead slumber of the country, while the whole situation has continued to drift steadily towards a Niagara of disaster.

We read this in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and rubbed our eyes and read again. Had Mr. Garvin at last realised the meaning of Suffrage militancy? We read on—alas! only to find that this new understanding of militancy was being applied, not to Suffragist methods, but to those of the "Unionettes," as the *Westminster Gazette* called them.

On the other hand the provocation has been excessive and unjustifiable. It is always technically wrong to commit an assault, but the law holds it equally reprehensible to offer insults or inflict injuries which it is not in human nature to suffer with patience. That is the state of the case in the House of Commons. — **The Times.**

In our opinion, then, the Opposition showed a true instinct for liberty and a true appreciation of the greatness of the issue before them when they determined to run all risks and to sink all so-called considerations of public decency and of good manners to prevent the creation of an intolerable precedent—a precedent which must have discredited the House of Commons and have made it take the first step in its ruin as a free Parliament. The course pursued by the Opposition did not damage the House of Commons. Rather, it preserved it from degradation. We congratulate Mr. Bonar Law and his supporters on having shown both courage and strength of purpose and on not having been frightened by the thought that their action might be misunderstood. . . It will be said, perhaps, that even if all this is true, the Opposition adopted the wrong methods to secure and preserve the dignity, power, and influence of the House of Commons. We cannot agree. It was their only way of protesting successfully.—**The Spectator.**

"But there are limits which pass the powers of human endurance and limits which ought not to be endured. These limits were passed yesterday. Whatever injury was done to the House of Commons was not done by us. It was done by the Government, whose one duty it ought to have been to have cherished the history of the House of Commons, to have regarded it as something for which they were trustees, and to do nothing which would break down that wall of common law on which the liberties of the House and of the people depend."—**Mr. Bonar Law at the Albert Hall.**

RAID ON PILLAR BOXES

In the House of Commons on Thursday in last week, Mr. Newman asked whether the Postmaster-General's attention had been drawn to the fact that on Sunday night last some 150 letters were discovered by the postman on duty to have been destroyed in pillar-boxes in the district of Winchmore Hill, North; whether the police authorities had reported that the outrage committed was connected with the demand for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women; and whether, in view of outrages of a similar character in other parts of the Metropolitan area, he would cause a notice to be fixed to each pillar-box warning the public of the danger they incur in placing their letters in pillar-boxes and advising their being posted for safety at the nearest local office?

Mr. Herbert Samuel: A pillar-box at Winchmore Hill was found by a policeman to be on fire, and when it was emptied by a postman 150 letters were found to have been damaged. There is every reason to suppose that the author of the fire, and the authors of a few similar acts of mischief in respect of Post Office letter-boxes in the London Postal District and in other parts of the country, are persons who think by this means to influence public opinion in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. I do not think that it would be expedient to take the course which the hon. member suggests. I would express the hope that members of the public will co-operate whenever possible in the detection of persons who commit such offences.

The *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch* reports that between five and ten o'clock on Sunday night bottles containing some liquid, and enclosed in unsealed envelopes, were dropped into the Post Office pillars in Melville Street, Ainslie Place, Shandwick place, Nelson Street, North Castle Street, India Street, and Howe Street. There were no corks in the bottles, and the liquid ran out and damaged the letters and parcels in the boxes.

WHEN, INDEED?

A lady who signs herself "Exasperated" writes to the *Times*:—"Cannot members of the House of Commons make it known that for every letter-box destroyed a vote will be lost for suffrage? I posted a letter, truly a matter of life and death, and hear that the contents of the box have been wilfully burnt. When are we to be rid of these fiends in human form?"

Answer:—When the Anti-Suffragists in Liberal form that now compose the Liberal Government give women the vote.

The worry and confusion which the letter-box raid is producing among people who attach importance to their correspondence is already very great.—**The Western Morning News.**

A TAX RESISTER

At the Willesden Police Court on Friday last Margaret Rodgers, a laundry proprietress, said she would never take out a licence for her dog whilst she had no vote. She was fined 7*s.* 6d., and declared that she would never pay it.

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Charming All Black Ninon over Satin Evening Gown. The double panel is of Chantilly lace, edged with tiny kiltings of ninon, the drapery being caught up with a jet trimmed buckle. The bodice is similarly treated, and can be made in any colour or contrasting shade. No extra charge for special measures. Price **59/6**

A 2¼ guinea Costume for 32s. 9d. Stylish all-wool tweed costume of very exceptional value, perfectly cut and tailored. The coat is made in the latest short waisted style, the skirt being finished with a corselet. Lined good quality Serge Silk. Sizes, S.W., W., O.S. Price **32/9**

OMNIBUS SERVICES, 7, 27, 28, 31, 32.
Stop the 'bus at MAXWELL & PONTING.

The fashion for **Basque Blouses.** Pretty Lace Blouse, with smartly cut Basque now so much in vogue. Made from fine quality tucked net and lined cluny lace insertion; the yoke and basque handsomely trimmed fine soutache braid, as illustrated. In sizes 13½, 14 and 14½. Ivory only ... **9/9**

A Forecast of Fashion.—For the coming Spring there will be a revival of the famous "Medici" collar which bids fair to outrival the "Robespierre." The above illustrates one of the models which we recently purchased in Paris, made of fine quality pale ecru shadow lace. Price **16/11**

Silk finished **Poplin Directoire Knickers** of generous proportions. In Navy, Amethyst, Brown, Grey, Saxe, Black, and White. Value 4/11. Only **3/11**

The most fashionable fur of the season is "**Seal Coney.**" The above illustrates a fur set of sterling value. A handsome stole 34in. long, lined throughout with silk merv, with large pillow muff to match, 15in. by 12in. The set complete ... **42/6** Actual value, 52/6. Stole only, 27/6. Muff only, 21/-

Our Speciality.—A Pure **Silk** Stocking, with lisle feet and tops. This stocking is sold everywhere at 1s. 11½d., but being our origination we offer it as an advertisement for 1s. 6¼d. Can be done in black, white, and thirty different colours, including all the new evening shades. Post free. Per pair, **1/6½**

If you cannot conveniently reach this store you may safely ORDER BY POST. All goods sent carriage paid to any address. Money refunded if goods do not give complete satisfaction.

We hold a splendidly assorted stock of outsize garments in all our departments. No extra charge is made for outsize costumes or gowns, or those made to special measures.

OUR POST BOX

THE REFORM BILL.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—Will you allow me very earnestly to call attention to a hidden danger which, when the Reform Bill comes up for debate, may threaten the women's claim, and which stands quite apart from the differences of policy toward that Bill by which Suffrage Societies are for the moment divided?

It is a danger dependent not upon the honour of the party-calculation of Members of Parliament, but upon a possible ruling by the Speaker on the admissibility of a Women's Suffrage Amendment in any form, whether supported by the Government or not. It has been plainly adumbrated, in another connection, by the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition during the past week, when—in relation to the proposed reversal of the Banbury Amendment to the Financial Resolution of the Home Rule Bill—Mr. Asquith spoke as follows: "It is the rule—as cited by Sir Erskine May—that no question or Bill shall be offered that is substantially the same as one upon which judgment has been expressed in the current session." And this point was endorsed by Mr. Bonar Law in these words: "One of the precedents which is most firmly rooted is that a decision once come to cannot be reversed in the same session."

With this dictum before us from the two party leaders, it is no use shutting our eyes to the possibility that the Speaker may rule all Women's Suffrage Amendments out of order as being "substantially the same" as the defeated Conciliation Bill.

It may be remembered how, after the rejection of that Bill, the Speaker ruled out of discussion a proposal of Mr. Lansbury's which bore at all events a different face-value; and the gist of the Speaker's ruling went to show that any proposal capable of amendment into conformity with another proposal was "substantially the same."

The Conciliation Bill having been expressly made "open to amendment" was capable of being brought into conformity with Adult Suffrage or with the so-called "Norwegian Amendment," which Liberal Members of Parliament are supposed to favour. It is, therefore, quite possible that the Speaker may rule both of these amendments out of order as not differing "substantially" from the defeated Conciliation Bill. If so, all hope of including women in the present Reform Bill may depend not upon the will of the House of Commons, but upon a ruling of the Speaker.

On one occasion, for which I cannot now give chapter and verse, Mr. Asquith stated that the position of a Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Government Bill would be unaffected by the Conciliation Bill having come first, provided it had then secured its first reading. And the inference I am now strongly inclined to draw is that he anticipated, by this proviso, that a Speaker's ruling might adversely affect *all* amendments if, instead of passing its second reading, it met with defeat.

The Speaker is not required to give a decision on such points of order until they actually arise; but it seems to me worse than useless for Suffragists to go on thinking that this is not the very position toward which Mr. Asquith may have been carefully manœuvring his party. He will then be able to turn round and say, "The Government drew up the Bill so as to be open to a Women's Suffrage Amendment, but the previous action of the House taken independently of Government Whips has, by the Speaker's ruling, made this impossible."

In its own interests the Government brings special machinery to bear to enable a hostile resolution to be rescinded, but it will not do so for the sake of Women's Suffrage. It expressly refused to do so when a flogging amendment to the White Slave Traffic Bill was carried by four votes, although three members testified that by inadvertence they had voted in the wrong lobby.

Personally, I fully anticipate that an adverse ruling by the Speaker will, after the formal elimination of the word "male," prevent any other amendments in favour of Women's Suffrage from being discussed. It seems to me, therefore, that the only course left for Suffragists—unless this point can be authoritatively cleared—is to press for the withdrawal of the Reform Bill.—I am, yours faithfully,

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

Greycott, Swanage, November 15.

A QUI VIVE CORPS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—All those who accompanied the "Edinburgh to London" Marchers came to the conclusion that this idea had proved such an unexpectedly good one as to be worth developing on slightly different lines. The feeling of the country towards the brown and green strangers with their "message" was so absolutely friendly, and the general desire to see Englishwomen enfranchised so genuine, that in many large towns the inhabitants said that they never remembered either the Liberal or the Conservative candidates having such large and attentive audiences of responsible adults as assembled to listen, motionless, for over an hour, to these few unknown women.

It has, therefore, been decided that, as members of every Suffrage Society took part in the march and found a common meeting ground in this work, the work can be continued in the same manner by inviting members of all the Societies to belong as well to an organised band of women called the "Qui Vive Corps," which will have detachments all over the United Kingdom. No one need give up her own Society because she joins the "Qui Vive Corps," who will make it their business to interest the country in all those larger questions which concern our common humanity and the efficiency of our race quite apart from party politics; they will encourage an ever-increasing army of women to study things for themselves, form independent opinions, by working together to acquire a more intimate knowledge of one another in the different strata of our society as it is at present constituted, and to develop self-confidence and strength of purpose. As the raising of the status of women is the most important proposal at present before the country, the "Qui Vive" will, till the Vote is won, concentrate on that measure only, but an organised body of energetic and capable women will be equally useful if ready to put in good work the moment the Vote *is* theirs. I shall be happy to supply further details to all who care to apply to me.—Yours, &c.,

RUTH CAVENDISH BENTINCK
(Hon. Secretry pro tem.).

78, Harley Street, London, W.

SEVEN YEARS AGO AND NOW.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Permit me, a foreigner, who has just revisited this country after seven years' absence, to record my impressions of the Woman's Movement.

I do not recognise the English woman; she has grown up, risen, has left her hearth and come out into the public arena to seek for her own enfranchisement, and obtain justice for her less fortunate sisters. I cannot but admire the intellectual and moral change which has taken place in this short time. I can plainly see that the Englishwoman has succeeded in forcing the whole world to stop and consider the conditions of her sex, that she has made this country realise the fact that humanity cannot be truly free whilst one half of it is deprived of all rights to self-expression.

I see that she has followers and helpers among women and men of all classes of society. I am greatly impressed by the number of various representative societies and associations—there is no class, profession, group, or trade among whom one cannot find people who stand for the emancipation of woman.

Also I see a hopeful sign for the future in that wonderful unity and comradeship which unites both men and women of all classes in the various leagues which form this movement, and which enable them to leave their prejudices and misunderstandings on one side in order to obtain the same great end.

But, above all, when among the women who are carrying on and suffering for this noble cause I see heads which have grown grey in the work of the world, and yet are standing in the firing line, I am overwhelmed by the valour and courage of the Englishwoman, and I have no words with which to express myself.—Yours very faithfully, KATHERINE SEREBRIAKOFF.

MR. BUXTON AT POPLAR.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—As an assistant mistress at the L.C.C. Secondary School, Poplar, I should be much obliged if you would accord me a little space in your paper in which to try to remove a slight misapprehension that may have arisen from "G's" letter under the above heading in your issue of November 8.

Let me state at the outset that it is in no spirit of antagonism to "G" that I write. But I think it is a pity that any speeches or incidents at a prize-giving, to which so much attention has been drawn, should give rise to the impression that the girls of our school are less considered than the boys. The position of Principal of a dual school must needs be a difficult and delicate one, but no one could hold the scales more justly and evenly than our Principal. If he only used the word "girls" once in his speech, it would not be because he had not the interests of girls at heart. With him the word "pupil"—unlike the word "person" with the House of Lords—includes both sexes.

Other speakers may have mentioned playing fields for *boys*, but we, of the girls' department, did not worry about that, for we know that the Principal will always see that the girls get their share of all the good things granted to the school. He has obtained a pitch for the girls at Victoria Park, where they play cricket and hockey, and we have target-ball and badminton on the school premises.

I enclose my name and address, and with the best of good wishes for the continued success of VOTES FOR WOMEN.—I am, yours faithfully, G. G. S.

November 18, 1912.

FROM KANSAS.

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—It may interest some of your readers to know about a work that has recently been started in connection with the suffrage movement. The idea came in a letter from the Society of Silent Unity, which has its headquarters in Kansas City, U.S.A., and numbers upwards of 200,000 registered members, with a very extending influence all over the world.

If the women desiring their freedom knew the power of concentrated thought, they could do more in silent co-operation than in outward demonstration. England could not long stand out against the spiritual and mental agreement of power. This thought lay dormant for a long time till a few months ago, when it reasserted itself with great force, and was taken up most enthusiastically. In about two months the members ran up to more than fifty, many of the letters received showing that such a movement meets a distinct need. It is felt that this silent work will be a help and support to the many noble women who have suffered so much for our righteous cause. The time chosen for this invocation of this one Supreme Power is daily at high noon. "The race is not to the swift or the strong, but by my Spirit," saith the Lord. Any who would like to join are invited to send their names to me, and I will let them know when meetings can be arranged.—Yours faithfully,

SIBELLA JONES.

10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

SHALL WE SURVIVE IT?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Lady Fry has never ordered the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN, and always burns it when it comes, as she considers it a pernicious and dangerous paper, subversive of morality and the best principles of womanhood. It is not likely, therefore, that she will wish to have it sent to her in future.

Failand House, Failand, nr. Bristol.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I think we of the Fellowship ought to thank Miss Neal very heartily for her very fine letter in this week's VOTES FOR WOMEN. Personally, it expresses in every detail my idea of what this women's movement should mean. Surely, with such high ideals and aspirations before us, we women of this generation ought to make this old world a better, cleaner, and happier place to live in.

I join with Miss Neal in having great faith for the future.—Yours faithfully,

MARY HAYMAN.

79, Lower Clapton Road, N.E.

It gives me pleasure to say I have now twelve regular subscribers to VOTES FOR WOMEN, and at your suggestion have persuaded my newsagent to show a poster weekly.—(R. F. H.)

I should like very much to join the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. I subscribe, and shall continue to do so, for four copies weekly of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and I send on copies to nieces in Canada, Germany, and S. Africa.—(R. I. C. T.)

Please put me down for your Fellowship. I enclose 5s. for Poster Fund, and should be glad to see a poster at Loughton Station.—(E. J.)

"MILITANCY—SIXTY YEARS AGO."

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I am reminded by your anecdote last week that just about a year ago a violent tirade was made by a Vicar in the course of a sermon against the noble workers in the Suffrage movement, and, feeling it hard to restrain myself, I walked out! The action was noticed by someone then unknown to me. She has since said that she felt sure of the reason, and laments not having also taken her departure.—Yours, &c., S. A. TURLE.

Overdale, Parkstone.

Interrupter: "How did you enjoy your skilly when doing your time?"

Suffragette: "I courteously refused the skilly. What might my co-gaol-bird have done with hers? I am always interested in gaol-birds." (Laughter.)

Interrupter (submissively): "Ah, well, God bless 'em."—**The Western Mail.**

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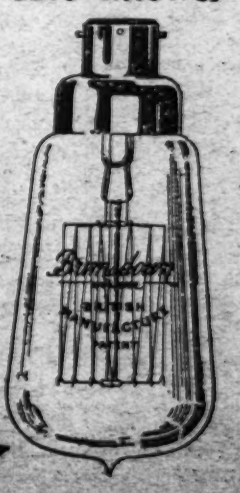


WIRUM LAMPS from FIRST to LAST—STRONG ALWAYS

VICTORY!

With the winning of woman suffrage in the States of Arizona, Kansas, Michigan, and Oregon, there is now a continuous chain of enfranchised States reaching north and south from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and east and west from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean.

In Arizona the women had a "walk-over." Every county is said to have given a majority for equal suffrage.

The figures of the Kansas vote, where women have had municipal suffrage for twenty-five years, are not yet available, but Press reports say that it was carried by a 50,000 majority.

Michigan is the most populous State that has yet granted votes to women, and is entitled to two more votes in the Electoral College than California.

The lesson of Oregon, says the *Woman's Journal* (Boston), is the value of "stick-to-it-iveness." A woman suffrage amendment was first submitted in 1884, and the subsequent passage of the agitation appears to have been greatly aided by the existence of an anti-suffrage organisation. Since 1906 the question has been submitted every two years.

The Wisconsin suffragists fought hard and gallantly, and carried on the struggle up to the last moment; but, as in Ohio, the powerful liquor interests and the large German vote were too much for the forces of equal rights to overcome this time.

The Beginning of the End

When Washington and California came in, it was the beginning of the end. Henceforth, the procession of enfranchised States will lengthen steadily. No new State had granted equal suffrage in the fourteen years from 1896, when Utah and Idaho came in, till 1910. In that year Washington was added, in 1911 came California, and in 1912 the four States mentioned above. The hardest part of the battle is now over, adds the *Woman's Journal*, to which we are indebted for the above facts.

Miss Jane Addams, who spent a week campaigning in Kansas, writes in the *Chicago Tribune:*

"Although I had the impression that I was ploughing over a field that had been well ploughed over before, and that all the essential reasons for giving votes to women had been presented to the people of Kansas long since, there was a new sense of reality about it.

"Part of the time I was with the Rev. Olympia Brown, who had successfully campaigned through the State fifty years before. The men applauded when she recalled the hardships of pioneer women whom she knew. One had buried three children at her own doorstep, one after another, as they died of diphtheria without the benefit of physician or clergy. Certainly such women, out of their hardships and sacrifices, had earned a right to participate in the political development of their State.

"But they were no more devoted and patriotic than was the mayor of a Kansas town whom I met at the State capital, an able, self-possessed woman, conversant with the policies of advanced municipal administration so often absolutely dependent upon State legislation. She, too, held a stake in the development of her State, as did many other Kansas women, bearing the burdens of their own day, who needed the franchise for immediate use.

"May we not say that the women who keep out of the turmoil of politics also keep out of the real life of their times, for never since the days of Pericles has so large a portion of social activity come within the sphere of politics."

A Press Comment

On the same day when America added four new stars to her suffrage flag, the British House of Commons voted down

From the Woman's Journal

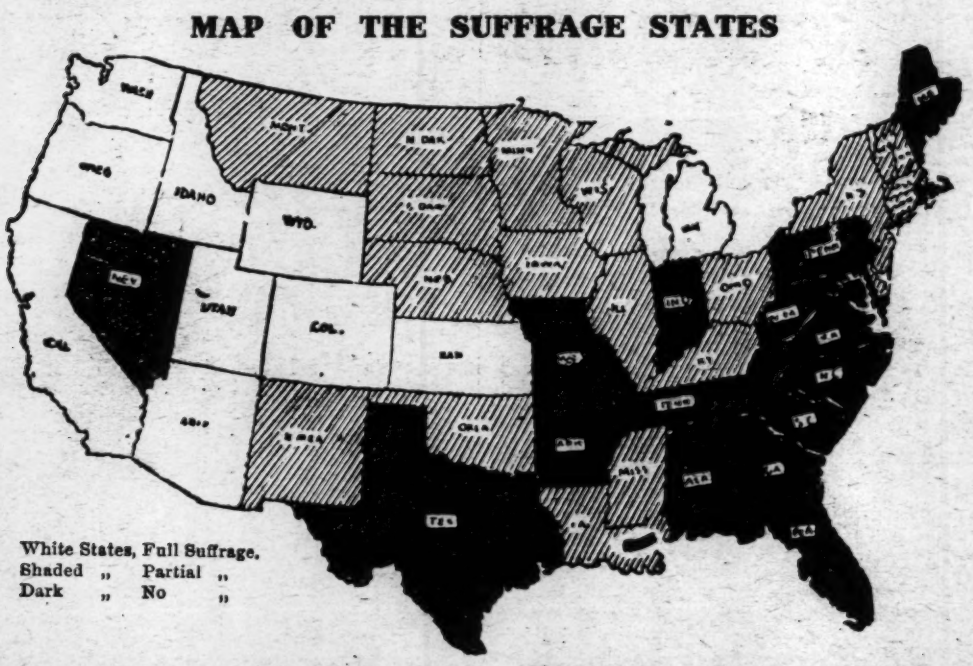
THE SUREST FLATTERY!

Philip Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill, which aimed to give Irish women the right to vote for the new Irish Parliament. . . . The disappointed Irish women can console themselves for the postponement of their hopes for full suffrage by the rapid advance of the cause in America. In the words of Arthur Hugh Clough:

"Not by Eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light.
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly!
But Westward, look, the land is bright!"

—The Woman's Journal (Boston).

MAP OF THE SUFFRAGE STATES



White States, Full Suffrage.
Shaded „ Partial „
Dark „ No „

Women now vote on equal terms with men in ten American States: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

THE "ANTI" COMEDY

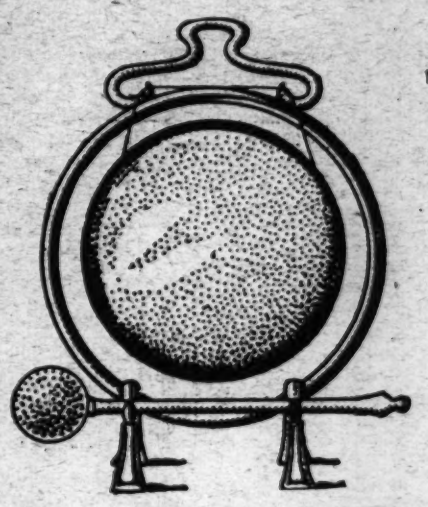
"We have not come here with light hearts," said the Duke of Norfolk at the Anti-Suffrage meeting in Sheffield last Friday. "We take no pleasure, but only come from a sense of duty to try to rouse one another to the fact that this movement is fraught with immense danger to our future."

We do not know if they succeeded in rousing one another. They certainly did not succeed in explaining the nature of the immense danger hinted at. It evidently does not lurk in the defects of woman, for, according to His Grace, "We have all felt the happy influence they exert upon us. . . . We have all wished that we, the stronger and the ruling sex, could emulate their noble self-devotion and their spirit of sacrifice." We cannot imagine why he should wish this, since the lack of these noble qualities seems in some weird way to qualify men and their possession to disqualify women for the vote.

According to another speaker, Mr. Fred. Maddison, women should not be enfranchised because they were women. (Loud applause.) Almost in the same breath he said that "even if every woman had remained a woman and not become a Suffragette, he would still have been against Woman Suffrage." (Louder applause.) But if every woman has become a Suffragette (we did not know it, and welcome the statement with joy), and is therefore, according to Mr. Maddison, no longer a woman, her last disqualification as a voter seems to be removed. Even an anti-Suffragist should not expect to have it both ways.

But perhaps our noble qualities of self-sacrifice and all the other things which prevent our being fit to vote, may have a stultifying effect upon the brain, and get in the way of our understanding these things. Still, Lady Tree seems to have got the matter clear. "Let us not seek to copy man," she wrote to the meeting. "Let us be content to reproduce him. Pray accept my deep regret and my sincere and humble apology." Surely no such apology was demanded by an anti-Suffragist audience?

Take it when you're young—you'll have a good digestion when you're old.



The dinner gong

sounds gladly in the ear of the woman who has a good appetite.

Good mustard, freshly made, not only sharpens the appetite, but enhances the flavour of meat; and materially assists the digestion and assimilation of the food. Enjoy your meals by helping yourself to Mustard.

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EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

A question has been sent in to us regarding the Suffragist demand for "equal pay for equal work." It is suggested to us that this demand is improper; a man, it is said, ought to get more than a woman because he has to keep a wife and children on his wages, while a woman has only herself to look after.

Our answer is two-fold. Firstly, the statement is not true. Many a man is a bachelor and works for himself alone, and many a woman has to keep her children or her aged father and mother by her earnings. Yet no one suggests that it would be possible to pay the bachelor half or two-thirds the wages of the married man for the same amount of work, or to pay the widow with children twice the wages of the unmarried women. Until you do this you have no right to say that the woman, simply because she is a woman, shall have only half or two-thirds the wages of the man for identically the same quantity of work done.

Secondly, even if you could do this, it would be a very bad thing. If spinsters and bachelors could be had for half the wages of married men, employers would never engage a married man if he could help it. The cheaper labour would *undercut* the dearer. All the spinsters and bachelors would be in work, and most of the married men with families would be unemployed. What a bad state of affairs that would be for the family and for the nation!

"There is only one remedy, and one alone, for the White Slave Traffic. Make it impossible, by the enactment of a Minimum Wage Law and by proper provision for the unemployed, for any woman to be forced to choose between prostitution and penury, and the White Slaver will have no more power over the daughters of labourers, artisans, and clerks, than he (or under the new Act she) has over the wives of bishops."—**Mr. Bernard Shaw in "The Awakener."**

THE HOLLOW-WARE STRIKE

The women of Cradley Heath have won their 10s. minimum wage, and the employers in the hollow-ware trade have been worsted in the brave fight waged for six weeks by the sweated women of the Black Country. We should like to think that the gallant fighters had gained something more by their struggle than a trifle over 2d. per hour for their labour; but equality of wages with men cannot be hoped for while women are voteless.

PRESS COMMENTS

There is no case for pathos and no excuse for pity. The years have gone over Cradley Heath, and it is a brave young generation which has arisen in these grimy streets with their memories of the older tragic struggles. The first sin of men towards women is to patronise them, and the next is to pity them. In spite of low wages and monotonous toils, for all their inexperience and their modest ambitions, it is a healthier and more hopeful sympathy for which this struggle calls. It is the beginning of a tremendous transformation. It is the expression of a new sense of solidarity and resolution.—**The Nation.**

"The men and women engaged in the hollow-ware trade in Staffordshire have fought a magnificent battle. In common comradeship they have shared hunger and privation in defence of their rights. Many of the women were asked to blackleg against the men, and they nobly refused to do so, though they saw before them no prospect of strike benefit, but only the prospect of long weeks of unaided and grinding destitution.—**Daily Citizen.**

DISMISSAL OF MRS. SHEEHY-SKEFFINGTON

A committee has been formed in Dublin to protest against the recent dismissal of Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, M.A. (to which reference has already been made in Votes for Women), from the Rathmines School of Commerce. The names of the Committee are: Miss Mary Hayden, M.A. (Senator, N.U.I.); Miss Maud Joynt, M.A.; Miss Katharine Maguire, M.D.; Miss Kathleen Shannon, B.A.; Mrs. K. Oldham, Mrs. A. Wyse Power, and Miss Helen Laird, Hon. Sec.

The following are the terms of the protest:—"We, the undersigned, in the interests of education, and to protect the security of tenure of teachers and their rights as citizens, protest against the summary dismissal, without sufficient reason, of Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington from her post in the Rathmines School of Commerce."

Among many signatures already received are those of Lorcan G. Sherlock, Lord Mayor; T. M. Kettle, George W. Russell, Catherine Mahon, President I.N.T.O.; James H. Cousins, William Field, M.P.; Alice Stopford Green, Stephen Gwynn, M.P.; Laurence Ginnell, M.P.; Sophie Bryant, D.Sc.; Maud Gonne, David Houston, Patrick White, M.P.; J. P. Nannetti, M.P.

In the course of a circular, the Committee say:—"The facts certainly indicate that the real reason for her dismissal was not that alleged, and in point of fact there can scarcely be a doubt that Mrs. Skeffington's dismissal was due to her political activities which caused her imprisonment for two months during the summer vacation."

COMING EVENTS

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak in the Public Hall, Buckhurst Hill, at 8 o'clock on Thursday, November 27, the Rev. F. M. Green in the chair. The meeting is being arranged by the West Essex Franchise Society. Early in December Mrs. Lawrence will be in Scotland; she will speak to working women on the afternoon of December 3, and on December 4 will address an evening meeting of the Edinburgh University Suffrage Society in the Large Hall of the University. On December 10 Mrs. Lawrence will speak at Ilkestone.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak at Bournemouth on Tuesday, December 3, and at Halifax on Friday, December 6.

On Thursday, December 5, the W.S.P.U. Christmas Presents Stall at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C., will be opened at 3 p.m.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

In addition to the star cast for "The First Actress" (Christopher St. John) to be given at the Actresses' Franchise League Matinée on November 29 at the Lyceum Theatre, Mdlle. Lydia Kyasht will dance; a new and original prologue, by Cicely Hamilton, will be spoken by Miss Janette Steer and Miss Athene Seyler; and the powerful little play, "Mr. Wilkinson's Widow," will be given. The cast will include Miss Blanche Stanlay, Miss Mary Deverell, Mr. Frederick Morland, Mr Caton Woodvile, and others. In the tableau, "The Awakening of Woman," arranged by Sir George Frampton, Miss Edyth Olive, Miss Anna Stannard, Miss Frances Dillon, Miss Maud Hoffman, Miss Olive Terry, and many others will appear. Tickets are on sale at the offices, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi.

THE LANSBURY ELECTION.

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—May I appeal to my fellow teachers who believe in Women's Enfranchisement to spend next Saturday and any evenings they have to spare between now and next Tuesday in Bow and Bromley? Speakers and workers, especially canvassers, are needed immediately.

We all appreciate the magnificent stand Mr. George Lansbury has made on our question. Let us show our gratitude by deeds. Arm-chair approval will not shove a load very far. A band of capable, intelligent men and women at door-step work during next Saturday will go a long way towards sending our good friend back to Westminster with an unmistakable message.—Yours, &c.,

Florence M. Russell.
26, Franconia Road, Clapham, S.W.

We are informed that the floral decorations of the "Medina," in which the King and Queen sailed to India, and the artificial flowers used at the Durbar, were made at the Mayfair Working Girls' Club, at 98, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square. Last year the girls made £700 worth of beautiful artificial flowers, and during the summer of 1912 they opened a stall at Earl's Court. We understand that Messrs. Debenham and Freebody are holding an exhibition in the interests of the charity.

The well-known firm of Burberrys, who, in addition to wholesale and retail establishments in London, Paris, and Basingstoke, have wholesale houses in New York, Buenos Ayres, and Montevideo, and agents in nearly every British town and every city of importance throughout the world, invite inspection of their new premises in the Haymarket. The building, which was designed by Mr. Walter Cave, F.R.I.A., is, we are informed, thoroughly up-to-date in lighting, ventilation, and other arrangements for the comfort and convenience of customers.

Among the exhibits in the Motor Show at Olympia is an invention by Mrs. Leah Joseph; a device for enabling the rims of motor-car wheels to be easily raised, for the attachment thereto of Stepney or similar spare wheels without the use of the lifting jack. The device is to be known as "The Stepniac."

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

TO all who find themselves unable to join an active or militant Suffrage Society (and to some who do), there is being formed a Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom. Will those interested write to Sibella Jones, 10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

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GLASGOW WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD.—Mansfield Street Hall, November 25, at 7.30. Miss Mildred Watson.

PUBLIC HALL, BUCKHURST HILL.—November 27, at 8 p.m. Chairman, Rev. F. M. Green. Speaker, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

PADDINGTON W.S.P.U.—East End Women's Meeting, November 28, at 2.45, 185, East India Dock Road. Miss Evelyn Sharp.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.—Matinée, Lyceum Theatre, November 28, 2.30. Tickets, ordinary prices.—Apply, 2 Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

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